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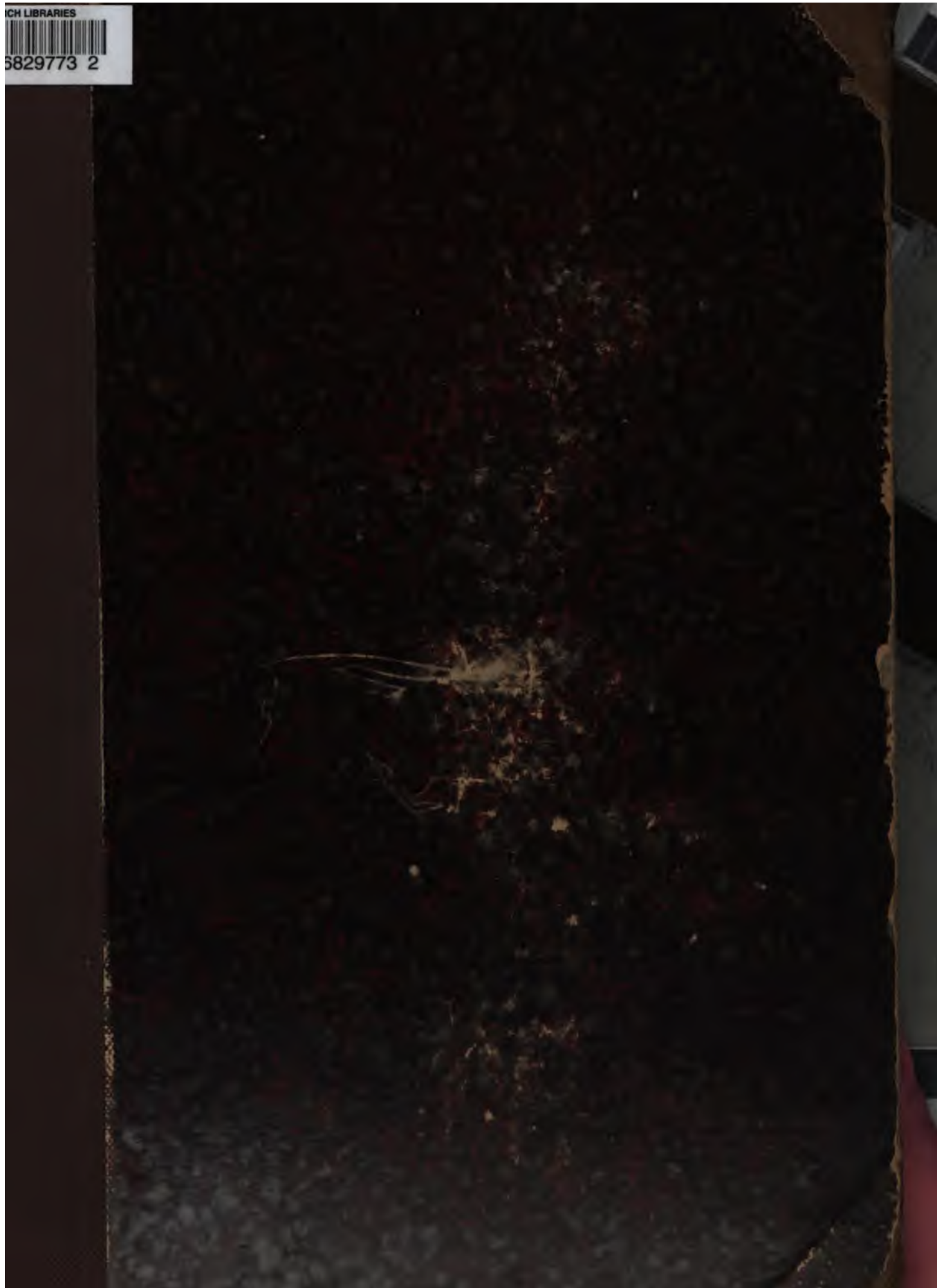
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
POPPES,  
FROM THE  
Foundation of the SEE of *ROME*,  
TO THE  
PRESENT TIME.

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VOL. III.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
POPE S,  
OR  
BISHOPS of ROME.

PHOCAS,  
HERACLIUS.

BONIFACE IV.

AGILULPH, } Kings of the  
ADALOALDUS. } Lombards.

*Sixty-sixth BISHOP of Rome.*



BONIFACE III. died on the 20th of November 607. and in his room was chosen, and ordained <sup>Boniface IV.</sup> *chosen.* on the 25th of August 608. Boniface the IVth of <sup>Year of</sup> *Christ 608.* that Name, a Native of *Valeria*, in the Country of the *Marfi*, and the Son of a Physician named *John*<sup>a</sup>.

The new Pope, availing himself of the Partiality of *Phocas* to his See, begged of him the famous *Pantheon* (A); and, having obtained it <sup>He obtains</sup> *the Pantheon* (for <sup>of Phocas,</sup> *and turns it* <sup>into a Church.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Anast. Plat. &c. in Bonifac. IV.

(A) The *Pantheon* was built, as is well known, by M. *Agrippa*, the Son-in-law of *Augustus*, in Honour of *Cybele*, and all the other Gods and Goddesses; and thence it took its Name. *Boniface* in purging it,  
VOL. III.

as he is said to have done, from all Filth of Idolatry, followed, without doubt, the Directions which his Predecessor *Gregory* had sent over to *Austin*, concerning the Temples of the Saxons in *Britain*. These  
B were,

Year of  
Christ 609.

(for the Tyrant could refuse nothing to the Popes, the only Friends he had in the whole Empire) he changed it into a Church, substituting the Mother of God to the Mother of the Gods, and the Christian Martyrs to the other *Pagan* Deities<sup>b</sup>, adored there before; so that only the Names of the Idols were altered.

Mellitus, the  
First Bishop  
of London,  
goes to Rome.  
Year of  
Christ 610.

The following Year, the 8th of *Phocas*, and 610th of the Christian Æra, *Mellitus*, the First Bishop of *London*, went to *Rome*, as *Bede* informs us<sup>c</sup>, to settle with the Pope some particular Affairs of the *English* Church. On that Occasion *Boniface* called a Council of the *Italian* Bishops, at which the Bishop of *London* assisted, and, when it broke up, returned to *Britain* with the Decrees of that Assembly; and Letters from the Pope to *Laurentius*, who had succeeded *Austin* in the See of *Canterbury*, to the *English* Clergy, to King *Ethelbert*, and to the Nation in general<sup>d</sup>. But none of these Letters have reached our Times; nor has *Bede* thought fit to let us know, what Affairs *Mellitus* wanted to settle

Baronius's  
Conjecture  
concerning the  
Motive of his  
Journey.

with the Pope. However, *Baronius* conjectures the Bishop of *London* to have undertaken that Journey to know of *Boniface*, whether or not the Consecration of the Church of *Westminster*, performed by St. *Peter* in Person, was to be deemed good and valid<sup>e</sup>. For St. *Peter* is said to have come down from Heaven for that Purpose; and I am unwilling to quarrel with the Annalist about the Truth of the Fact, seeing it was attested by the very Waterman, who convey'd the Apostle over the *Thames*, in his Way from Heaven to *Westminster*, and, was believed upon his Testimony, first by the Abbot *Ealred*<sup>f</sup>, whom *Baronius* calls a very credible Historian, and afterwards by Pope *Nicholas* II. But yet I cannot acquiesce in the Conjecture of *Baronius*, and think that *Mellitus* would have taken so long and so troublesome a Journey to know the Opinion of the Pope concerning that Consecration,

<sup>b</sup> Bed. l. 2. c. 4. Anast. Plat. in Bonifac. IV.

<sup>c</sup> Bed. ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 610. p. 215.

<sup>f</sup> Ealsed. in vit. Edward. Confess.

were, to cast out the Images of the Gods, to sprinkle the Walls with Holy Water, to build Altars, and furnish them with Reliques (1). In the Year 333. great Numbers of Temples were destroy'd in *Rome*, and all Parts of the Empire, pursuant to a

Law issued that Year by the Emperor *Constantine* (2): But the *Pantheon* was spared, probably on Account of its Stateliness and Grandeur, and to this Day it remains quite entire.

(1) Greg. 9. ep. 71.

(2) Cod. Theodos. l. 9. tit. 17.

## Boniface IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

3

however extraordinary, since he might have known it without stirring from his See, at *London* as well as at *Rome*.

Year of  
Christ 610.

After the Death of *Baronius*, *Holstenius* published a Decree from a Manuscript lodged in the *Vatican*, which he ascribes to *Boniface*, and pretends to have been issued by him in the above-mentioned Council. In that Decree an Opinion is supposed to have prevailed in *England*, as if the Monks were incapable of receiving Ordination, or performing any Sacerdotal or Episcopal Function, because dead to this World. That Opinion is there condemned, and the Monks are declared to be Angels, and consequently the proper Ministers of the Word. That they are Angels, is proved thus; they are covered, like the Cherubims, with six Wings, the Cowl forming two, the Arms of their Cassock two, and its Extremities two more; *ergo* they have six Wings, and consequently are Angels, Cherubims, and proper Ministers of the Word. How could a Man of *Holstenius's* Learning mistake such a Piece, worthy only of an ignorant and stupid Monk, for the Decree of a Council of Bishops with the Pope at their Head! One must entertain a very mean Opinion of Pope *Boniface*, and the other *Italian* Bishops of those Days, to think them capable of reasoning in so ridiculous and absurd a Manner. The Letter from the Pope to King *Ethelbert*, which the same Writer published with the pretended Decree, bears as visible Marks of Forgery as the Decree itself, and is universally rejected<sup>h</sup>. The Pope is there made to excommunicate all who should presume to oppose the Execution of that Decree, even the Successors of *Ethelbert*; and it was, without doubt, to vest in the Popes such a Power over Kings, that the Letter was forged.

Decree fals  
ascribed to  
Boniface.

And a Letter  
to Ethelbert,  
King of  
Kent.

No further Mention is made of *Boniface* till the Time of his Death, which happened on the 7th of *May* 615, after he had governed the *Roman* Church six Years, eight Months, and thirteen Days. He has been fainter; but it would perhaps puzzle *Baronius* himself to tell us why, unless it was because he changed his House into a Monastery, and richly endowed it<sup>i</sup>; or on account of the mighty Commendations bestow'd on him in his Epitaph<sup>k</sup>. But were Epitaphs to be depended on, few Persons would be found, who have any, and might not be fainter.

Boniface  
dies.  
Year of  
Christ 615.

<sup>s</sup> Holsten. Collect. Rom. p. 242. <sup>h</sup> See Du Pin, nouvelle Biblioth. l. 5. p. 36.  
<sup>i</sup> Anast. in Bonifac. IV. <sup>k</sup> Apud Manlium in Monument. Vatican. Basilicæ.



Year of  
Christ 615.

Phocas de-  
posed and  
murdered.

In the third Year of the Pontificate of *Boniface*, the See of *Rome* suffered a great Loss by the Deposition and Death of *Phocas*, the chief Author of its Grandeur. For *Heraclius*, the Son of *Heraclius*, Governor of *Africa*, having, at the Request of the People of that Province, taken upon him the Title of Emperor, and in Sight of *Constantinople* defeated the Fleet, which the Tyrant had armed, and sent out against him, the whole City declared in Favour of the Conqueror, as the Deliverer and Saviour of the Empire; and with loud Acclamations proclaimed him Emperor. Hereupon the Tyrant, dreading, as he well might, the Rage of the Multitude, fled in great Consternation to the Palace; but one *Phocius*, whose Wife he had debauched, pursuing him with a Party of Soldiers, forced the Gates, seized him, and, having stript him of the Imperial Robes, dragged him, in a black Vest, to *Heraclius*, who commanded first his Hands and his Feet, and afterwards his Head, to be cut off, to the unspeakable Joy of all Ranks and Orders of Men. His Head was exposed on a Pole, to the View and the Insult of the Populace; and the rest of his Body delivered up to the Soldiers, who burnt it in the Forum. When *Heraclius* reproached him with his evil Administration, he is said to have answered with great Calmness, *If I have governed ill, it is incumbent upon you to govern better*<sup>1</sup>. Such was the End of this cruel and blood-thirsty Tyrant, after he had insulted the Empire, to use the Expression of *Cedrenus*, eight Years wanting some Days.

HERACLIUS. DEUSDEDIT, AGILULPH, ADALOALDUS, } Kings of the  
Lombards.

*Sixty-seventh* BISHOP of Rome.

Deusdedit  
chosen.

Year of  
Christ 615.

IN the room of *Boniface* was chosen, after a Vacancy of five Months, and twelve Days, *Deusdedit*, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of *Stephen*, a Subdeacon of that Church. It is said, that in the Time of this Pope a dreadful Leprosy raged at *Rome*, and that he cured one with a Kiss, who was sorely afflicted with that Distemper<sup>m</sup>; which is all we know of him. He died on the 8th

<sup>1</sup> Niceph. l. 18. c. 26. Miscell. Ann. 7. Phoc. Cedren. ad Ann. 1. Heracl. Theoph. Chron. Alexandr. Plat. in Deusdedit.

Deusdedit.

BISHOPS of Rome.

5

of *November* 618. having held the See three Years, and twenty Days; for he was ordained on the 19th of *October* 615. *Baronius*, <sup>Year of Christ 618.</sup> in correcting the *Roman* Martyrology, allowed him a Place among the Saints, <sup>*Dies, and is*</sup> *because the Church had antiently worshiped him as a* <sup>*sainted by Baronius.*</sup> *Saint*. But *Pagi* and *Papebroke* assure us, that his Name is not to be found in any of the more antient Martyrologies.

The Letter, supposed to have been written by this Pope to *Gordianus*, Bishop of *Seville*, is a barefaced Forgery; nothing being <sup>*His Letter to Gordianus of Seville spurious.*</sup> more certain in History, than that the famous *Isidore* was Bishop of that City from the Year 600. to 638. and consequently, during the whole Time of *Deusdedit's* Pontificate. In that Letter the Pope is made to declare, that, should a Man and his Wife stand Sponsors to their own Child, their Marriage would be thereby annulled, and they at Liberty to marry whom they pleased. A most easy, and most expeditious Method of procuring a Divorce! In *St. Austin's* Time the Parents were commonly Sponsors for their own Children; nay, an Opinion then prevailed, that none but Parents ought to be Sponsors. And hence it is manifest, that in those Days the Notion of *spiritual Relation* was not yet broached, tho' the Council of *Trent* has, on Account of that imaginary Relation, declared all Marriages unlawful between the Sponsors, as well as between them and their Children, between the Sponsor, and the Father and the Mother of the Baptized, and between the Baptizer and the Baptized, or the Father and the Mother of the Baptized. It is to be observed, that Dispensations for Marriages within any Degree whatever of spiritual Relation, are easily obtained by all, who can afford to pay for them.

• Aug. ep. 23. ad Bonifac. • Concil. Trid. Sess. 24. de refor. matrimon.

BONIFACE

HERACLIUS. **BONIFACE V.** ADALOALDUS,  
King of the Lombards.

*Sixty-eighth* BISHOP of Rome.

Boniface V.  
chosen.

Year of  
Christ 619.

He writes to  
Mellitus and  
Justus in  
England.

Year of  
Christ 620.

Sends the Pall  
to Justus.

**D**EUSDEDIT was succeeded by Boniface, the Fifth of that Name, ordained on the 23d of *December* 619. after the See had been vacant from the 8th of *November* 618. to that Time. He was a Native of *Campania*, and a Presbyter of the *Roman* Church p. He had no sooner taken Possession of the See, than he wrote, as *Bede* informs us <sup>q</sup>, to *Mellitus*, the Successor of *Laurentius* in the See of *Canterbury* (B), and to *Justus*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, exhorting them to pursue the great Work, which they had so happily begun. But neither of these Letters has reached our Times. Of the Actions of this Pope no farther Mention is made till the Year 624. when he sent the Pall (C) to *Justus*, who, in that Year, had succeeded *Mellitus* in the See of *Canterbury*, and with the Pall

p Anast. Plat. in Bonifac. V.

q Bed. l. 2. c. 7.

(B) *Mellitus*, having been driven from his See, the See of *London*, by the Pagan Kings of the *East-Saxons*, led a private Life in the Kingdom of *Kent* till the Death of *Laurentius*, whom he succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*. He had converted great Numbers of the *East-Saxons* inhabiting *Essex* and *Middlesex*, with *Seber* their King; but *Seber* dying, the People relapsed into Idolatry under his three Sons, who had never embraced the Christian Religion (1). These new Converts were, it seems, but very indifferently instructed: under Christian Kings they were zealous Christians, and no less zealous Pagans under Pagan Kings.

(C) The Pall was originally Part of the Imperial Habit, being a rich Robe of State, very magnificent, and reaching quite to the Ground. The Bishops of *Rome* were allowed to wear it, they say, by *Constantine the Great*; and in Process of Time the same Honour was granted by the Em-

perors to the other Patriarchs (2). Hence, when they were either driven from their Sees, or voluntarily quitted them, they returned their Palls to the Emperors. Thus *Anthimus* of *Constantinople*, being expelled from his See, delivered up his Pall to the Emperor *Justinian* (3); as *Germanus* did his to the Emperor *Leo*, upon his quitting the same See in the Controversy about the Worship of Images (4). When the Popes first took upon them to grant that honorary Badge, which they did before the Pontificate of *Gregory the Great*, chosen in 590. they did not presume to do it till they had obtained Leave of the Emperor. Thus when Queen *Brunichild* apply'd to that Pope, desiring a Pall might be sent to *Syagrius* of *Autun*, he dispatched a Deacon to *Constantinople* on purpose to beg Leave of the Emperor *Mauricius* to comply with the Request of the Queen; and when he comply'd with it, he told her it was the Emperor's Plea-

(1) Bed. l. 2. c. 5, et 6. (2) De Marca de Concord. Sacerdot. et Imper. l. 6. c. 6. (3) Vide Richer. Hist. Concil. l. 1. p. 723. (4) Eutrop. Hist. Rom. l. 21. p. 296.

## Boniface V. BISHOPS of Rome.

7

Pall a Letter to congratulate him on the Success of his Apostolical Labours in *Britain* <sup>r</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 624.

At this Time Christianity was confined, in *Britain*, to the Kingdom of *Kent*, the *East-Saxons*, whom *Mellitus* had converted, being returned to their Idolatry. But the following Year 625. a favourable Opportunity offered of enlarging the Pale of the Church.

*Edwin.*

<sup>r</sup> Bed. 1. 2. c. 8.

sure, that a Pall should be sent, and that he had sent it accordingly (5); which was owning the Pall to be a Gift of the Emperor. But the Successors of *Gregory*, upon the Declining of the Empire, when the Power of the Emperors became quite precarious in the West, took upon them to bestow that Mark of Distinction, independently of them, and as a Gift of their own. However, that it might no longer be deemed Part of the Imperial Habit, which it was treasonable to wear without Leave from the Emperors, they changed its antient Form to the present. For it is not now, as it antiently was, a Robe of State, but a white Piece of woollen Cloth about the Breadth of a Border, made round, and thrown over the Shoulders. Upon that are two others of the same Matter, and the same Shape, the one falling down on the Breast, and the other on the Back; each of them having a red Cross, with several Crosses of the same Colour on the upper Part about the Neck.

At what Time the Popes assumed the disposing of the Pall, independently of the Emperors, is not well known; but certain it is, that no Bishop was obliged to apply to *Rome* for it till the Year 742. when *Boniface*, the famous Apostle of *Germany*, and Bishop of *Mentz*, out of the Abundance of his Zeal for the Grandeur and Power of the Pope, persuaded the Bishops of *France* and *Germany* to pass a Decree obliging their Metropolitans to apply to the Pope for that Ornament, and to promise, upon their receiving it, a canonical Obedience to the Commands of *St. Peter*. As that Practice proved of all others the most favourable to the ambitious Designs of the Bishops of *Rome*, they spared no Pains to impose it upon all Me-

ropolitans, issuing, with that View, Decrees upon Decrees concerning the Nature, the Virtue, and the Necessity, of the Pall, till they came, at length, to declare it unlawful for a Metropolitan, Archbishop, or Primate, to exercise any Branch of his Power till he had received his Pall from *Rome*; nay, in several Decrees the Metropolitans Jurisdiction and Power were said to be conferred by the Pall (6); which was making the Pope the Fountain of all Ecclesiastical Power and Authority. That Doctrine was, it seems, first broached in the ninth Century. But *Hincmar*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, who lived in that Age, opposed it among the rest, declaring to the Pope himself, Pope *Nicholas I.* that his Pall had conferred no Authority upon him, but what he was vested with by the Canons of the Catholic Church, before he received it (7). However, that Opinion, tho' evidently repugnant to the Practice and Doctrine of all former Ages, prevailed in the End; and the Pall was declared by *Innocent III.* in the thirteenth Century, to be an Ensign or Token of the Plenitude of the Apostolic Power, and said to communicate a competent Share of that Power to those, who received it from their Holinesses Hands.

The new Metropolitans were, to the Time of *Gregory VII.* only required to send for their Palls, and that within the Space of three Months after their Ordination. But that Pope, not satisfied with their sending, obliged all, who were not prevented by some lawful Impediment, to come for them in Person to *Rome*. By the same Pope the Promise of Canonical Obedience, which the Metropolitans had made ever since the Year 742. upon their receiving their Palls, was changed into

(5) Greg. 1. 7. ep. 5.  
(7) De Marca, 1. 6. c. 6.

(6) Decretal. 1. 1. tit. 6. c. 4. et 28. et tit. 8. c. 3.

*Writes to  
Edwin King  
of North-  
umberland,  
and to Edel-  
berg his  
Queen.  
Year of  
Christ 625.*

*Edwin*, the Pagan King of the *Northumbrians*, married *Edelberg*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*, and Sister of *Eadbald*, King of *Kent*; and it was stipulated by the Marriage-Articles, that the Queen should be allowed the free Exercise of the Christian Religion, which she professed. Pursuant to that Agreement, *Edelberg* took *Paulinus* with her into the North, who, on that Occasion, was consecrated Bishop by *Justus*. The Pope was no sooner acquainted with the Marriage, than thinking it might prove, in the End, of great Advantage to the Christian Religion, he laid hold of the Opportunity, and wrote both to the King and the Queen. In his Letter to the King he shewed him the Absurdity and Folly of the Pagan Worship; endeavoured to raise his Mind to a just Sense of the Divine Being; and warmly exhorted him to forsake his Idols, the Work of Mens Hands, and adore him alone, who is in the Heavens, who made the Heavens and the Earth, and all that is in them\*. In his Letter to the Queen he encouraged her, with the Promise of the

\* Bed. l. 2. c. 10.

an Oath of Allegiance, such as Vassals, by the feudal Laws, were obliged to take to their Princes.

As that Ornament was originally designed only for an honorary Acknowledgement of the Merit of the Person, to whom it was given, *Gregory the Great*, who perhaps bestowed more Palls than any Pope has done from his Time to the present, not only would not receive himself the least Fee or Reward of the Persons, on whom he bestowed them, but, to oblige his Successors to act with the same Disinterestedness, decreed in a Council, which he held at *Rome* in 595. that the Pall should be given *gratis*; and that nothing should be required, nothing received, or even expected, of those to whom it was given; agreeably to the Command of our Saviour, *Freely ye have received, freely give* (8). What Account the Successors of *Gregory* have made of that Law, the World but too well knows. Instead of complying with it, nay, and with the express Command of our Saviour, they soon began to act in direct Opposition to both; inasmuch

that the Pall, for which nothing was to be given, and nothing expected, became, in the End, one of the chief Funds of their See. Exorbitant Sums were exacted not only for the Palls, that were sent to Presbyters, or private Bishops, when raised to the Archiepiscopal Dignity; but likewise for those, that were sent to Archbishops, when translated from one Archiepiscopal See to another. For by the Canons an Archbishop is not to carry his Pall away with him, when translated, but to demand a new one; and his Successor is not to make use of the Pall, which his Predecessor had left, but apply to *Rome* for another (9). But of the enormous Abuses and Exactions, to which the Pall has given Occasion, since the Disposing of it was usurped by the Popes, I shall have frequent Opportunities to speak in the Sequel of this History; and only observe here, that had the Decree of the *Roman Council* under *Gregory* been observed, and the Pall been given freely, it would have been no more thought necessary in our Days, than it was thought necessary in his.

(8) Greg. l. 7. ep. 5. et Concil. tom. 5. col. 1587. Edit. Lab. (9) Decretal. l. 1. tit. 5. c. 4. et tit. 8. c. 3.

## Boniface V. BISHOPS of Rome.

9

Kingdom of Heaven, to leave nothing unattempted, which she could think capable of making any Impression on the Mind of the King, in Favour of the Christian Religion, and to acquaint him from time to time with the Success of her pious Endeavours<sup>c</sup>. With these Letters the Pope sent Presents to both, which he called *the Blessing of their Protector St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles*; viz. to the King a Linen Vest adorned with Gold, and an *Ancyrian* Garment, an Apparel held, it seems, at that Time, in great Request; and to the Queen, an Ivory Comb curiously gilt, and a Silver Mirrour<sup>u</sup>; an improper Present for a Woman, who was to perform the Office of an Apostle.

Year of  
Christ 625.

Sends Pre-  
sents to both.

The Pope did not live to the Time, which God, in his Wisdom, had prefixed for the Conversion of *Edwin*. For the King was not baptized till the Year 627. and *Boniface* died on the 22d of *October* of the present Year 625. after he had presided in the *Roman* Church five Years, and ten Months. Some Constitutions are ascribed to him, but they relate to Matters of small Importance, and are not by all allowed to be genuine.

Boniface dies.

It was in the Time of Pope *Boniface* IV. in the 7th Year of his Pontificate, the 5th of the Reign of *Heraclius*, and 614th of the Christian *Æra*, that the Impostor *Mahomet* first published his Law. He was born in the City of *Mecca*, in *Arabia Felix*, on the 12th of the Month of *Rabieus*, or the 5th of our *May* 570. set up for a Prophet in the 40th Year of his Age; and in the 44th published his Law. The Law he published is reduced by *Elmakin* (D) to the following Heads: He commanded all Men, says that Writer, to believe in God alone, to adore and worship God alone; he banished all Worship of Idols; enjoined Circumcision; established the Fast of

<sup>c</sup> Bed. l. 2. c. 7.

<sup>u</sup> Idem ibid.

(D) *Elmakin*, is generally allowed to have been thoroughly acquainted with the Affairs of the *Saracens*, and to have written with great Exactness and Candour. He wrote the History of that Nation, and, besides, a General History of the World, from the Creation to the Time of *Mahomet* (1). He was a Christian, but a *Jacobite* or *Eutychian*; and therefore bestows on those of that Sect

the Name of *Orthodox*, distinguishing from them such as professed the Doctrine of *Chalcedon* by the Name of *Melkites*, that is, Men who had no other Religion but the Religion of the Emperor. That Name was given soon after the Council of *Chalcedon* to those, who, in Compliance with the Edict of the Emperor *Marcian*, received the Decree of that Council.

(1) Papebroke Hist. Chronolog. p. 34. Ecchelen. in Eutyche vindicato.

Year of  
Christ 625.

the Month *Ramadan*, Cleanliness, Prayers five times a Day, Pilgrimages to the Temple of *Mecca*, and Abstinence from Blood and Swines Flesh; and on those who did not comply with these Injunctions, he made War as on avowed Enemies<sup>a</sup>. In the Year 622. the 4th of Pope *Boniface* Vth, and 13th of *Heraclius*, he publicly preached his Doctrine in the City of *Mecca*, the Place of his Birth; but was obliged to save himself, by a precipitate Flight, from the Dangers that threatened him there. From that Flight, which in 622. fell on a *Friday*, the 16th of *July*, the *Mahometans* begin their *Æra*, which they call *Hegira*, that is, *Persecution*. He was attended in most other Places with better Success; and, having gained great Numbers of the *Saracens*, those chiefly, who still were Pagans (and the greater Part of that Nation professed then no other Religion), he caused himself to be acknowledged by them for their Prince as well as their Prophet. This happened in the Year 627. the third of Pope *Honorius*, the 18th of *Heraclius*, and the sixth of the *Hegira*, which in that Year began on *Friday* the 6th of *May*<sup>b</sup>. He was vested with the Sovereignty under a Tree, says *Elmakin*; and lived five Years after his Inauguration, propagating his new Religion by force of Arms, and making War chiefly on the *Jews*, and the Pagans. He died, according to the same Writer, on the 12th of the Month *Rabius* or *Rabieus*, in the 11th Year of the *Hegira*<sup>c</sup>, and consequently on the 17th of our *June* 632. which in that Year fell on a *Monday*. Before he died, he saw his Doctrine almost universally received, and professed by the *Arabs* or *Saracens*; and at the Time of his Death he appointed four *Amirs*, or great Officers, to reduce such of the Christians as were of the Race of the *Arabs*, and did not profess it<sup>d</sup>. He lived in Peace with the *Romans*, without committing, or suffering his Followers to commit, any kind of Hostilities upon them, or in their Territories; nay, satisfy'd with establishing his Doctrine amongst his Countrymen, he never attempted to seduce any of the Subjects of the Empire. *Heraclius* therefore had no Right to make War upon him, or to prevent him from propagating his new Religion, however detestable, among his Countrymen, who had acknowledged him for their King, and over whom the Emperor had no Power or Au-

<sup>a</sup> Elmakin. in hist. Sarac. p. 67. <sup>b</sup> Elmakin. ad ann. Hegiræ 6. et ad ann. Hegir. 2. <sup>d</sup> Theoph. ad ann. æræ Alexandrin. 632.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

thority.

## Honorius. BISHOPS of Rome.

II

thority. This has not, it seems, been attended to by the Ecclesiastical Writers, who all impute the Propagation of *Mahometism* to a criminal Indolence, and an unpardonable Neglect, in *Heraclius*; exclaiming against him for not making War on those who professed that Religion, at the same time that they exclaim against *Mahomet* for making War on those who did not profess it. As to the Tenets of that Sect, they are generally known, and so very absurd in themselves, as to want no other Confutation.

Year of  
Christ 625.

HERACLIUS.

HONORIUS,

ADALOALDUS, } Kings of  
ARIOALDUS, } the Lombards.  
ROTHARIS.

*Sixty-ninth* BISHOP of Rome.

**H**ONORIUS, a Native of *Campania*, and the Son of *Pe-tronius*, a Person of Distinction, was chosen in the room of *Boniface*, and ordained on the 27th of *October* of the present Year, after a Vacancy of five Days only; the Exarch, whom the Emperor had empowered to confirm the Election of the Pope, happening to be then at *Rome*<sup>u</sup>. That Power *Heraclius* had granted to the Exarchs of *Ravenna*, his Lieutenants in *Italy*, that the long Vacancies, occasioned by the Distance of the Emperors, and the Inconveniencies attending them, might be thereby removed<sup>w</sup>.

At this time the *Lombards*, Masters of all *Italy*, except the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, the Dukedoms of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Amalfi*, and the Maritime Cities of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Lucania*, were at Peace with the Empire, but at War among themselves. For *Adaloaldus* having in a Fit of Lunacy, to which he is said to have been subject, caused twelve of the chief Lords of the Nation, to be put to Death, the rest, thinking it incumbent upon them to provide for their own Safety, as well as for that of the Kingdom, deposed him, and raised to the Throne *Arioaldus*, Duke of *Turin*, who had married his Sister<sup>x</sup>. But *Arioaldus*, tho' a Person of an unblemished Character, and distinguished Merit, was an *Arian*; and *Adaloaldus* not only a good Catholic, but a great Benefactor to

Adaloaldus  
the Catholic  
King of the  
Lombards  
deposed.  
Year of  
Christ 626.

<sup>u</sup> Vide Pagi ad ann. 625. n. 17.  
Sigon. de regn. Ital. ad ann. 623.

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>x</sup> Paul. Diac. l. 4. c. 5.



Year of  
Christ 626.

The Pope  
strives to get  
him restored.

the Church. The Pope therefore, espousing the Cause of the deposed King with great Zeal, left nothing unattempted either with the *Lombards* or *Romans*, to get him restored. By his Intrigues a Civil War was kindled among the *Lombards*, that threatened the whole Nation with utter Destruction; some of them favouring the Revolution, while others opposed it. Among the former were all the Bishops beyond the *Po*, who, chusing rather to be governed by an *Arian*, than a Lunatic, or Madman, had endeavoured, it seems, to gain over to their Party a Lord of great Power and Authority in those Parts. The Pope therefore, looking upon them as Traitors and Rebels to the Church, as well as the State, and finding they paid no kind of Regard to his Exhortations or Menaces, wrote at last to the Exarch, pressing him to join the lawful King with all the Troops under his Command, and, having restored him, to cause the Bishops, who had favoured the Heretic, to be sent to *Rome*, that they might not escape the Punishment, which was due to their Rebellion and Treachery. But the Exarch wisely declined engaging in that War; and *Ariwaldus*, in spite of all the Attempts and Machinations of the Pope, continued to reign over the *Lombards* as long as he lived.

First Rise of  
the Dispute  
concerning the  
Will and  
Operations in  
Christ.

Year of  
Christ 634.

Of *Honorius* nothing else occurs in History worthy of Notice till the Year 634. when he first took Part in a Dispute, which, at that time, made a great Noise in the *East*. The Subject of it was, whether in *Christ* two Wills (two operating Wills), the one *Human*, the other *Divine*; and two Operations (that is, two Kinds of Volitions, or Acts of Willing), the one proceeding from his *Human*, the other from his *Divine Will*; were to be admitted; or one Will only, and one Operation? *Theodorus*, Bishop of *Pharan* in *Palestine*, was the first who gave Occasion to that Controversy, maintaining, that in *Christ* the Humanity was so united to the Divinity, that it did not act of itself, but that all Actions proceeded from the Word, and were to be ascribed to the Word alone; which was supposing the Human Will in *Christ* to have been quite absorbed by the Divine, the Humanity to have been but a mere Instrument of the Divinity, and the Operations to have been all divine. Of that Opinion were *Sergius* and *Cyrus*, the former at this time Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the latter of *Alexandria*;

and with them most of the Bishops of their Patriarchates, who were thence by the *Greeks* called *Monothelites*, that is, Defenders of one Will. *Sergius* was in his Heart a *Jacobite* (E), or *Eutychian*; and the Doctrine of one Will was entirely agreeable to the Doctrine of one Nature. As for *Cyrus*, he received the Council of *Chalcedon*; acknowledged two Natures in Christ; but did not think, it seems, the Doctrine of one Will repugnant to the Doctrine of two Natures. That Opinion he first embraced on the following Occasion.

Year of  
Christ 634.

The Emperor *Heraclius*, who was a zealous Stickler for the Faith of *Chalcedon*, that is, of the two Natures in Christ, and had nothing so much at Heart as to see his Subjects all united in the same Faith, being informed, while he was, on Occasion of the *Persian* War, in the City of *Phasis*, the Metropolis of *Lazica* or *Colchis*, that the *Eutychians* were very numerous in those Parts; and that one *Paul*, a Follower of *Severus* (F), and thence called by the Writers of those Times *Paul the Severian*, was there at the Head of that Party; he sent for him, flattering himself he might be gained over to the Orthodox Party, and an Union, by his means, be brought about between the Catholics and the *Eutychians*. *Paul* was as zealous a Stickler for the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, as *Heraclius* was for that of *Chalcedon*; but, being a Man of great Craft and Address, in the Conference which he had with the Emperor, he allowed his Arguments in Favour of two Natures to be of great Weight; but pretended, at the same time, to be quite at a Loss, whether he should admit two Wills in Christ, and two Operations, as well as two Natures, or one Will only, and one Operation; alleging several Reasons, which he said inclined him to think the Doctrine of one Will to have ever been the Doctrine of the Church, and the Fathers. *Cyrus* was then Bishop of the Place; and him

What gave  
Occasion to  
that Dispute.

(E) *Sergius* was a Native of *Syria*; and is said to have been born there of *Jacobite* Parents, and, to have been himself, in his Heart, a *Jacobite*, that is, an *Eutychian*. For in that Province, as well as in *Armenia*, the *Eutychians* were known by the Name of *Jacobites*, being so called from one *Jacob* or *James*, a *Syrian* Monk, the first who introduced the Doctrine of

*Eutyches* into those Provinces. It was first preached there in 536; and the *Armenians* and *Syrians* profess it to this Day (1).

(F) The *Eutychians* were divided into two Sects, the one maintaining the Doctrine of *Severus* concerning the *Corruptibility*, and the other that of *Julian* concerning the *Incorruptibility* of the Body of Christ, as has been related at Length elsewhere (2).

(1) Plat. in ep. ad Zach. Armen. Patriarch. et Niceph. l. 8. c. 51. Vol. II. p. 430, et seq.

(2) See

Year of  
Christ 634.

the Emperor consulted, not caring to determine any thing of himself, as he did not well comprehend the Meaning of the Terms, and was but very little acquainted with the Doctrine of the Fathers. But *Cyrus* was as much at a Loss what to determine, as the Emperor; who thereupon ordered him to write to *Sergius* (not to the unerring Judge of Controversies at *Rome*); and, having acquainted him with the State of the Question, require him, in his Name, to deliver his Opinion concerning it; and, in particular, to declare, whether he thought it could be gathered from the Writings of the Fathers, that in Christ there was but one Will, and one Operation. The Gospels were not mentioned, nor so much as thought of; the Writings of the Fathers having thrust them quite out of doors.

The Mono-  
thelite Do-  
ctrine, or the  
Doctrine of  
one Will in  
Christ, defin-  
ed by *Sergius*  
of *Constantinople*, in a  
Council held  
in that City.

*Cyrus* wrote, pursuant to the Emperor's Order (G); and *Sergius*, well apprised, that were the Doctrine of *one Will* admitted, that of *two Natures* could hardly be maintained, no sooner received his Letter, than, to give the greater Weight to his Answer, he assembled a Council, consisting, no doubt, of Bishops, whom he knew to be of the same Persuasion with himself; and by all it was with one Voice declared, and defined, that *in Christ there was but one Will, and one Operation*. This Declaration or Definition, as *Sergius* styled it, was immediately transmitted to *Cyrus*; and with it the Copy of a Letter establishing the Doctrine of *one Will*, said to have been written by *Mennas* of *Constantinople* to Pope *Vigilius*, and to have been approved by both; nay, and by the fifth Council, as containing the true Doctrine of the Church, and the Fathers<sup>2</sup>. The latter was forged on this Occasion by *Sergius* himself, and inserted into the Acts of the fifth Council, as was afterwards made evidently to appear; neither the Heterodox nor Orthodox scrupling, in those Days, to support with Fraud and Deceit, what they thought a good Cause. However, as neither *Cyrus* nor the Emperor entertained the least Suspicion of the Faith and Sincerity of *Sergius*, they both fell into the Snare; and not only declared, upon his Authority, for the Doctrine of *one Will*, and *one Operation*, but thenceforth spared no Pains to get it universally received by the Church. It met at first

The Emperor,  
and *Cyrus* of  
Phasis, de-  
clare for that  
Doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Epist. Serg. ad Honor. apud Bar. ad An. 633.

(G) The Direction of the Letter was, To *Sergius*, the Pastor of Pastors, the Father of Fathers, the Universal Patriarch. For *Phocas* being deposed, and his Acts all

annulled, the Bishops of *Constantinople* resumed the so long disputed Title of *Universal Bishop*, and retain it to this Day.

with little or no Opposition; the Catholic Bishops not being, it seems, aware of the Tendency of such a Doctrine, or not chusing openly to combat an Opinion, that had been defined by the Patriarch of *Constantinople* at the Head of a Council, and was strongly recommended by the Emperor. *Cyrus* distinguished himself above the rest by his Zeal in promoting it; and, being, on that Consideration, translated by the Emperor from the See of *Phasis* to that of *Alexandria*, he undertook to establish it in that City and Diocese. With that View, as well as with a Design, as we are told, to unite the Catholics and the *Eutychians*, who were near as numerous in *Egypt* as the Catholics themselves, he convened a great Council in the City of *Alexandria* on the 4th of *May* 633. By that Council an Union was, in the End, brought about between the two Parties. But one of the Articles of their Agreement, the Seventh, was, That all Men should profess and believe, that *in Christ there was one Will only, and one Theandric Operation*; that is, one kind of Operations or Volitions proceeding from Christ as God, and as Man. For in that Dispute, by one Operation or Volition, as the Philosophers stile it, was always understood one kind of Operations or Volitions; the *Monothelites* allowing different Operations in Christ, but pretending, that they were all of the same kind, that they all proceeded from the Divine Will, which, they said, had absorbed the Human Will, in the same manner as the Divine Nature had, in the System of the *Eutychians* and *Theopaschites*, quite absorbed the Human Nature.

At the Council of *Alexandria* assisted, amongst the rest, a Monk named *Sophronius*, who not only opposed, with great Warmth, the 7th Article of that Assembly, as rank *Eutychianism*, and absolutely inconsistent with the Doctrine of *two Natures*; but, alleging many Passages from the Writings of the Fathers to shew, that they had all acknowledged two Wills in Christ, and two Operations, threw himself on the Ground before *Cyrus*, begging, with Tears in his Eyes, that he would not lend his Authority to the establishing of a Doctrine so plainly repugnant to the Doctrine of the Church, and the Fathers. As *Cyrus* paid no kind of Regard to his repeated Prayers, to his Reasons and Remonstrances, he repaired to *Constantinople*, as soon as the Council broke up, to complain of him to the Patriarch, as the Author of a Doctrine, which, he said, no Man, who received the Council of *Chalcedon*, could hold or defend. But the Patriarch paid,

Year of  
Christ 634.

*Cyrus translated to the See of Alexandria, confirms it in a Council held there.*

*Sophronius opposes the Definition of that Council.*

Year of  
Christ 634.  
But Sergius  
confirms it,  
and enjoins a  
general Si-  
lence concern-  
ing it.

He writes to  
the Pope.

paid, as we may well imagine, no more regard to his Complaints than *Cyrus* had done; nay, in a Letter, which he wrote some time after to *Cyrus*, he not only commended him for his Zeal in restoring the so long wished for Tranquillity to the Churches of *Egypt*, but confirmed the Articles on which it was grounded, more especially the Article establishing one Will in Christ, and one Operation. However, at the same time he enjoined a general Silence concerning the Article in Dispute; pretending thereby to consult the Welfare of the Church, and restrain Men, who seemed chiefly to delight in Strife and Contention, from disturbing the Union and Concord, which *Cyrus* had taken so much Pains to establish, and had in the End so happily established. But his true Design was to silence *Sophronius*, who was now raised to the Patriarchal See of *Jerusalem*, and had lately published a Writing containing no fewer than six hundred Passages out of the Fathers, to shew that they had all acknowledged two Wills in Christ, and two Operations, as well as two Natures. To render that Injunction more effectual, and pre-engage the Pope on his Side, he wrote, about the same time, a long Letter to *Honorius*, to acquaint him with the State of the Question; with the Opposition, which the Doctrine of the Fathers, for so he stiled the Doctrine of *one Will*, had met with from *Sophronius*; and with the Motives, which he pretended had induced him to impose Silence on both Parties, on *Cyrus* as well as *Sophronius*; viz. to prevent the Disturbances, which he was well apprised such a Controversy would otherwise raise in the Church. He begged the Pope to let him know, whether he approved of his Conduct, or not; if he did, to concur in the same Measures with him; if he did not, to suggest what other more effectual Means might occur to his Holiness of maintaining the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church. He added, that *Cyrus* had made it evidently appear from the Writings of the Fathers, that they had all held the Doctrine of one Will; and that *Sophronius* had not been able to produce the Testimony of a single Father, that seemed in the least to countenance the opposite Doctrine <sup>a</sup>.

The Pope ap-  
proves of his  
Conduct, and  
declares for  
the Doctrine  
of one Will.

This Letter *Honorius* immediately answered; and in his Answer not only approved of the Conduct of *Sergius*; but declared, in express Terms, that he intirely agreed in Opinion with him; that he

<sup>a</sup> Serg. Ep. ad Honor., apud Bar. ad An. 633. p. 314. — 317. Syn. 6. Act. 12. Maximin. Ep. ad Petr. Illustr. et Concil. Lateran. Secret. 2.

acknowledged

acknowledged but one Will in Christ; that none of the Fathers had ever openly taught the Doctrine of two Wills; that as to the Operations, no Man was authorized either by the Scriptures or the Councils, to teach the Doctrine of one Operation, or that of two; that Christ, tho' true God, and true Man, was one, and remaining one operated; but whether the Operations should, on that Score, be called two or one, was but a trifling and impertinent Question, which he left the Grammarians to determine. He added, that nevertheless, in Matters of Faith, we ought carefully to avoid both Expressions; lest by using the one, we should be thought to acknowledge only one Nature in Christ with the *Eutychians*, or to own two Persons with the *Nestorians* by using the other <sup>b</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 634.

With this Letter *Honorius* dispatched two of his Presbyters to *Constantinople*, who were scarce gone, when he received one from the new Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, containing a Confession of his Faith, a learned Exposition of the Belief of the Church concerning the Humanity of Christ, and a Confutation of the Doctrine taught by *Sergius* and *Cyrus*, which he maintained to be absolutely inconsistent with the Definition of *Chalcedon*, and the Doctrine of the Fathers. This Letter was delivered to *Honorius* by *Stephen* Bishop of *Dora* in *Palestine*, whom *Sophronius* had sent to *Rome* at the Head of a solemn Deputation, to acquaint the Pope, by Word of Mouth, with the true State of the Controversy, to maintain in his Presence the Catholic Tenet of two Wills in Christ, and two Operations; and persuade him, if by any Means he could, to reject and condemn the opposite Doctrine. But the Pope had already declared for one Will, and approved of the Conduct of *Sergius* in imposing Silence both on *Sophronius* and *Cyrus*. Instead therefore of hearkening to the Reasons or Remonstrances of the Deputies, and condemning the Doctrine, which *Sophronius* had taken so much Pains to confute, he exhorted them to live in Peace and Concord with their Brethren, to observe the Silence, which *Sergius* had so wisely enjoined, and even obliged them, before they left *Rome*, to promise, in the Name of their Patriarch, that he would thenceforth forbear all mention of two Wills in Christ, and two Operations, provided *Cyrus*, in his turn, abstained from all mention of one Will, and one Operation <sup>c</sup>.

*Sophronius*  
strives to  
get the Do-  
ctrine of one  
Will con-  
demned at  
Rome.

But the Pope  
requires him  
to observe the  
Silence in-  
joined by  
*Sergius*.

<sup>b</sup> Concil. 6. Act. 12. et Bar. ibid. p. 317—320.  
Ann. 633. p. 324.

<sup>c</sup> Syn. 6. Act. 13. Bar. ad

Year of  
Christ 634.

The Pope  
condemns the  
Expression of  
one Opera-  
tion, and the  
Expression of  
two.

On this Occasion the Pope wrote a second Letter to *Sergius*, to acquaint him with what had passed between him and the Legates of *Sophronius*, and intreat him to take care, that the Injunction, which he himself had thought fit to lay both on *Sophronius* and *Cyrus*, should by both be punctually complied with. In that Letter he acknowledges one Person in Christ, and two distinct Natures; but condemns anew the Expression of one Operation, as well as the Expression of two; as having no Foundation, either in the Councils, or the Fathers <sup>d</sup>. He wrote, at the same time, to the other two Patriarchs, *Sophronius* and *Cyrus*, exhorting them to observe the Silence which *Sergius* had enjoined, and shun all idle Disputes and Questions, which neither the Fathers nor Councils had thought fit to determine. And thus far, for the present, of the Doctrine of the *Monothelites*, and the Part *Honorius* acted, when it was first heard of in the West. Of his whole Conduct on that Occasion, and the Judgment which the Fathers of the sixth Council pronounced against him several Years after his Death, on account of his Conduct, I shall speak in the History of that Council, as in a more proper Place.

Honorius  
grants the  
Title of Me-  
tropolitan to  
Paulinus of  
York, and  
sends him a  
Pall.

The same Year the Pope wrote three other Letters, *viz.* one to *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*; another to *Honorius* of *Canterbury* (H), and *Paulinus* of *York*; and a third to the *Scotch* Nation. *Edwin*, having embraced the Christian Religion, and laid the Foundation of a Church at *York*, where he was baptized, had begged the Pope to grant the Title of Metropolitan to *Paulinus* Bishop of that City, and send him a Pall. The Pope, in his Answer, acquaints the King, that he has complied with his Request, congratulates him on his Conversion, exhorts him to continue stedfast in the Faith he has embraced; and, unmindful of the Scripture, recommends to his Perusal the Works of Pope *Gregory* <sup>e</sup>. In his Letter to the two Bishops, he exhorts them to acquit themselves as they ought, of their Ministry; and lets them know, that at the Request of their respective

<sup>a</sup> Syn. 6. Act. 3. Bar. ad Ann. 633. p. 324.

<sup>e</sup> Bed. Hist. Angl. l. 2. c. 17.

(H) *Honorius* had succeeded *Iustus* in the See of *Canterbury*, and had been ordained by *Paulinus* in the City of *Lincoln*, about the Year 631. For *Paulinus* had not confined his Apostolic Labours to the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; but, extending them to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, had preached the Gospel in that Part of the

present *Lincolnshire*, that borders on the *Trent* and the *Humber*; and brought over such Numbers to the Faith in the City of *Lincoln* itself, that a Church was erected there for the public Exercise of the Christian Religion: And in that Church *Honorius* was, by *Paulinus*, ordained Archbishop of *Canterbury* (2).

(2) Bed. l. 2. c. 18.

Kings (*Eadbald* and *Edwin*) he has sent to each of them a Pall; and that, when either of them dies, he impowers the Survivor, in Consideration of their great Distance from *Rome*, to ordain the Person, who shall be chosen to succeed the Deceased, without any farther Application to him, or his Successors<sup>f</sup>. At this time the *Scotch* Churches disagreed, in the Celebration of *Easter*, with the *Roman*; and, it seems, with all other Catholic Churches. For they had, but three Years before, that is, in 631. kept that Festival on the 21st of *April*; whereas it was kept, that same Year, by the *Roman*, and all other Churches, at least in the West, on the 24th of *March*; and the Purport of the Pope's Letter to them was, to persuade them to relinquish their own, and conform to the Usage of the Catholic Church<sup>h</sup>. But notwithstanding that Letter, they still adhered to their antient Practice, however singular; and could not, till many Years after, be prevailed upon to change it (I).

Year of  
Christ 634.

He exhorts  
the Scots to  
conform to the  
Use of the  
Roman  
Church, in  
the Celebration  
of  
Easter.

*Honorius* is said by *Anastasius* to have repaired many Churches, to have built some, to have enriched others with Gifts of great Value, and to have obtained Leave of the Emperor *Heraclius* to take the gilt Copper-tiles from the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and cover with them the Church of *St. Peter*<sup>i</sup>. Of this Pope nothing else is recorded worthy of Notice. He died on the 12th of *October* 638. having held the See twelve Years, eleven Months, and sixteen Days.

Honorius  
dies.  
Year of  
Christ 638.

It was in this Year, and about the time of the Death of *Honorius*, that the Emperor *Heraclius* published, or rather *Sergius* published in the Emperor's Name, the famous Edict, stiled the *Ecthesis* or Exposition; that Edict being an Exposition of the Faith, which the Emperor was there said to profess, and require all his Subjects to hold and profess. It begins with an Explanation of the Catholic Faith, concerning the Trinity, intirely Orthodox; and, with respect to the Mystery of the Incarnation, two distinct Natures are there acknowledged in Christ against the *Eutychians*, and one Person in Opposition to the Followers of *Nestorius*. But as to the Will and Operations

Heraclius  
publishes his  
famous  
Edict, named  
the Ecthesis.

<sup>f</sup> Bed. ibid. c. 18.

<sup>g</sup> Vide Usher. Antiq. Britann. Eccles. p. 482. et 934.

et Alford. in Annal. Eccles. Anglo-Sax. Ann. 630. n. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Bed. ibid. c. 12.

<sup>i</sup> Anast. in Honor.

(I) The *English*, who had been converted to the Christian Religion by the *Roman* Church in the Year 664. the *Picts* in 699. the *Scots* in 726. and the *Britons* *Scots*, complied with the Practice of the about the Year 800.



Year of  
Christ 638.

in Christ, the Emperor, or rather *Sergius*, explains himself thus: *We ascribe all the Operations in Christ, the Human as well as the Divine, to the Word incarnate. But whether they should be called two, or should be called one, we will suffer none to dispute; and none even to mention either one Operation, or two Operations; but require all to confess, agreeably to the Doctrine of the five General Councils, that in Christ every Operation, whether Human or Divine, proceeded from the same incarnate Word, without Division or Confusion: For tho' the Expression of one Operation has been used by some of the holy Fathers, yet many are alarmed at that Term, apprehending it to be used in Opposition to the two Natures; while others are no less alarmed at the Expression of two Operations; an Expression, which the Fathers have all carefully avoided; as obliging them to acknowledge two disagreeing and opposite Wills in Christ; the one consenting to the Accomplishment of his Passion, and the other declining it. Now, if the wicked Nestorius, who divided the Divine Humanity of our Lord, and introduced two Sons, did not, nevertheless, acknowledge two Wills, but one only, even in two Persons, how can a Catholic, in one Person, acknowledge two? We therefore confess, agreeably to the Doctrine of the Apostles, of the Councils, and the Fathers, but one Will in Christ; and believe, that his Body, tho' animated with a rational Soul, produced no Motion whatever of itself. In the End of the Edict, Anathemas are thundered against several Heretics; and the Catholics are all required and exhorted to hold and profess the Doctrine thus declared and explained.*

*Sergius the true Author of the Ecthesis.*

To this Edict was prefixed the following Title; *An Exposition of the Orthodox Faith, made by our most pious Lord and great Prince Heraclius, on occasion of the Controversy concerning the Operations in Christ: Which Exposition the Bishops of the Patriarchal Sees have received, as agreeing in all Things with the Definitions of the five holy Oecumenical Councils, and have readily consented to, as establishing in Peace the holy Churches of God.*<sup>k</sup> However the Emperor afterwards disowned it; declaring, in a Letter, which he wrote, not long before his Death, to Pope John IV. that the *Ecthesis* was neither dictated by him, nor published by his Order; but that, upon his Return from the East, that is, from Syria, to the Imperial City, he had been persuaded by *Sergius* to sign it, and suffer it to pass

<sup>k</sup> Concil. Lateran. Secretario 3. Tom. 6. Concil. p. 83. et Bar. ad Ann. 639. p. 352—354.

Severinus.

## BISHOPS of Rome.

21

under his Name <sup>1</sup>. That Letter *Heraclius* wrote to exculpate himself, when he found the *Ecthesis* was universally condemned in the West, as containing Heretical Doctrines; and he, as the reputed Author of it, branded by all, who condemned it, with the opprobrious Names of Heretic and Heresiarch. Of the Disturbances which this famous Edict raised, both in the East and West, I shall speak in the Sequel.

Year of  
Christ 638.

HERACLIUS.

## SEVERINUS,

ROTHARIS  
King of the Lombards.

### Seventieth BISHOP of Rome.

IN the room of *Honorius* was chosen *Severinus*, by Birth a Roman, and the Son of one *Labienu*s. He was elected soon after the Death of his Predecessor, but not ordained till the 28th of May 640. when the See had been vacant one Year, seven Months, and seventeen Days. What so long a Delay was owing to, may be gathered from a Letter of the Abbot *Maximus*, who flourished at this Time, to another Abbot named *Thalassius*: For in that Letter *Maximus* tells his Correspondent, that the *Apocrisarii*, whom the Roman Clergy had sent to *Constantinople* to acquaint the Emperor with the Election of *Severinus*, and beg him to confirm it, had been obliged to continue a long time there, the Emperor refusing, at the Instigation of the Clergy of that City, to comply with their Request, till they had promised to persuade their new Bishop to sign the *Ecthesis*; which they did in the End, says *Maximus*, though they never intended to perform so sinful a Promise<sup>m</sup>. They did not, it seems, think it sinful to make a Promise, which it was sinful to perform. The learned *Combissius* will have the Ordination of *Severinus* to have been so long delay'd, either because the Emperor was indisposed, and could no sooner confirm his Election, or because he was unwilling to confirm it, as not being well acquainted with the Character of the Elect, or his not thinking him equal, on Account of his Years, to so great a Charge<sup>n</sup>. But the Letter of *Maximus* leaves no room for such groundless Conjectures;

Severinus  
chosen.  
Year of  
Christ 640.

What occasioned  
so long  
a Vacancy.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Bar. ad Ann. 640. p. 359. et Pagi ad eund. ann. n. V. <sup>m</sup> Anast. in Constantianis edit: a Sirmond. <sup>n</sup> Combis. in hist. hæres. Monoth. disput. 1. n. 11, 12.

Year of  
Christ 640.

nor would so judicious a Writer have ever indulged them, had he perused that Piece with the least Degree of Attention. The Exarchs of *Ravenna* were impowered by *Heraclius*, for the Reasons I have alleged above, to confirm the Election of the Bishops of *Rome*, which the other Emperors had all reserved to themselves. But *Isaicius*, at this Time Exarch, would not confirm the Election of *Severinus* till he had received the *Ecthefis*; nor indeed could he, the Emperor having transmitted a Copy of that Edict to him, and at the same time enjoined him to see it was received by the new Bishop of *Rome* before he issued the Decree confirming his Election<sup>o</sup>: And it was, without all doubt, upon the Exarch's refusing to confirm the Election of *Severinus*, that the *Roman* Clergy apply'd immediately to the Emperor, and sent their *Apocrisarii* to *Constantinople*.

*The Lateran  
Palace plundered, and the  
Treasure of  
the Roman  
Church seized.*

While the See still continued vacant, *Mauricius* the Chartulary, or Keeper of the public Registers, fell unexpectedly, with the Soldiery and Populace, on the *Lateran* Palace, where the Treasure of the *Roman* Church was lodged, consisting of Money, Jewels, and many other Things of great Value, which, says *Anastasius*, Emperors, Patricians, and Consuls, had given or bequeathed to St. *Peter* for the Redemption of their Souls. But as St. *Peter* had no Occasion for them, the Chartulary thought they had better be employ'd in supplying the Exigencies of the State, reduced at that time to a most deplorable Condition, than suffered to lie useless in the Palace of the Bishop, or to be kept there for mere Shew and Parade. *Severinus*, who, as Bishop elect, had taken Possession of the Palace, and those who were with him, well apprised of the Design of *Mauricius*, withstood him at first with great Resolution and Vigour. But their Courage soon failed them; and they surrendered the third Day, when *Mauricius*, entering the Palace with the Judges, and those of his Council, seized, and carefully sealed up, in their Presence, whatever he found valuable in the different Apartments. Having thus secured the whole Treasure, he sent to acquaint the Exarch with what he had done, who thereupon hastened to *Rome*, where he no sooner arrived, than he banished into different Cities all the leading Men among the Clergy, all the Cardinals of the holy *Roman* Church, says *Baronius*, probably to pre-

<sup>o</sup> Cyri ep. ad Serg. in Concil. Lateran. Secret. 3. et apud Bar. ad ann. 639. p. 351.

## Severinus. BISHOPS of Rome.

23

vent their stirring up the Populace to Mutiny and Sedition. He then took Possession of the Palace, and having continued there eight Days, searching every Room, and every other Place, so narrowly, that nothing could escape him, he returned to *Ravenna*, leaving nothing behind him, but what he did not think worth the Trouble of carrying away with him. Part of the Treasure the Exarch sent to the Emperor, who was not at all displeased at its having been seized, tho' it had not, it seems, been seized by any Order from him, or even with his Knowledge. But he could not think it a Sacrilege, nor even unlawful, to employ the superfluous and superabundant Wealth of the Church in the Defence of the State, and consequently of the Church too.

Year of  
Christ 640.

In the mean time the *Apocrisarii*, whom I have mentioned above, returned from *Constantinople* with the Imperial Decree confirming the Election of *Severinus*, who was thereupon ordained at last. But he enjoy'd his Dignity a very short time, only two Months, and four Days (K): for he was not ordained till the 28th of *May*, and he died on the First of *August* of the same Year, and was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*. That *Severinus* did not receive the *Ecthesis*, nay, that he condemned it, and the Doctrine it contained, appears from the Confession of Faith, which the Bishops of *Rome* were required to make at the Time of the Sixth General Council. For in that Confession they professed to receive, and promised to observe, the Decrees of *Severinus*, *John*, *Theodorus*, and *Martin*, Pontiffs of the *Roman* See, against the late Doctrine of one Will in Christ, and one Operation. *Severinus* therefore must have condemned the Doctrine of one Will, as well as the other Popes mentioned in that Confession, and condemned it in a Council, since, in his Days, the Popes had not yet taken upon them, as is agreed on all Hands, to issue any Decrees in Points of Faith, but in Councils.

The Election  
of *Severinus*  
confirmed,  
and he died  
soon after.

He condemn-  
ed the Mo-  
nothelete  
Doctrine.

## JOHN

- † Anast. in *Severin*.      † Idem *ibid*.      † Diurn. Rom. Pontific. c. 3. tit. 6.  
‡ Vide Bellarmin. in Ep. ad Clement. VIII. in Hist. de Auxiliis, t. 1. p. 325. Garner.  
in Not. ad Diurnum Roman. Pontif.

(K) *Baronius*, or perhaps his Amanuensis, mistaking the *Roman* Numbers II. for the *Arabic* Cyphers in the Copy of *Anastasius*, which he perused, supposes *Severinus* to have held the See, according to that Writer, eleven Months, and four Days. But in all, or almost all the other Manuscripts, as well as printed Copies of *Anastasius*, *Severinus* is said, without either Figures or Cyphers, to have sat *menses duos, dies*

Year of  
Christ 640.

HERACLIUS,  
CONSTANTINE,  
HERACLEONAS,  
CONSTANS.

J O H N I V.

ROTHARIS  
King of the Lombards.

Seventy-first BISHOP of Rome.

John IV.  
chosen.

Some Scotch  
Bishops write  
to Rome con-  
cerning the  
Celebration  
of Easter.

SEVERINUS was succeeded by *John* the IVth of that Name, a Native of *Dalmatia*, the Son of one *Venantius*, and Archdeacon of the *Roman Church*<sup>t</sup>. He was chosen by the People with one Consent, but not ordained, tho' chosen a few Days after the Death of his Predecessor, till the 24th of *December* of the present Year, when the See had been vacant four Months, and twenty-four Days. During that Interval a Letter was received at *Rome* from some Bishops, Presbyters, and Abbots, of the *Scotch Nation* (L), concerning the Controversy about the Time of celebrating *Easter*, and likewise to inform the Pope, that the *Pelagian* Herefy began to revive in that Kingdom. The Letter was directed to *Severinus*; but he being dead, and the new Pope not yet confirmed by the Emperor, and consequently not ordained, nor true Pope, it was opened, and answered by those, who governed the *Roman Church* during the Vacancy of the See; viz. the Archpriest, the Archdeacon, the *Primicerius*, or Chief of the Notaries, and a fourth, who styles himself only *Servant of God, and Counsellor of the Apostolic See*<sup>u</sup> (M). The Purport of their Letter was, to convince the *Scots* of their Error concerning the Time of keeping the *Easter Festival*, and stir them

<sup>t</sup> Anast. Platin. &c.

<sup>u</sup> Bed. l. 2. c. 19.

*dies quatuor*. This Blunder or Oversight has obliged the Annalist to depart from *Anastasius* in computing the Years of all the succeeding Popes, and to be guided, in point of Chronology, by his own, for the most part, quite groundless Conjectures.

(L) The Letter was probably written and signed by the Five Bishops, the Five Presbyters, and the Abbot *Saranus*, who are all mentioned by Name in the Answer.

(M) The *Roman Church* was governed, during the Vacancy of the See, only by the three former, unless one of them was chosen Pope, as it happened at this

time; and in that Case a fourth was added. If the Elect was not one of the three before his Election, he was not added to them after it, his Election giving him no Power or Authority whatever, till it was confirmed by the Emperor, or the Exarch. If he was one of the three, and only Archdeacon, he still yielded the first Place to the Archpriest. Thus in the Answer, that was returned at this time to the *Scots*, the Archpriest *Hilarius* is named in the First Place, and *John*, notwithstanding his Election, in the Second, as being only Archdeacon; but with this Addition, *In the Name of God, elect; Jo-*  
*annes*

them up to an Abhorrence of the *Pelagian* Heresy. As they called the Practice, that obtained among the *Scots*, with respect to the Celebration of *Easter*, a new Heresy among them, which some of their Province endeavoured to introduce and establish; *Bede* thence takes Occasion to observe, that such a Practice had been then, that is, in 640. but very lately introduced into that Nation; and that it was only adopted by some, and not by the whole Nation<sup>w</sup>. The same Historian having<sup>x</sup> elsewhere related the Death of *Edwin*, King of *Northumberland*, which happened, according to him, in the Year 633. adds, and at that time the Error of the *Quartodecimans* was revived among the *Scots*. But in that Particular the venerable Historian was certainly mistaken; nay, and contradicts himself; for he tells us in another Place, that the Practice, which obtained among the *Scots* in the Celebration of *Easter*, had been observed by them ever since the Time of *Columba*, who from *Ireland* brought it into *Scotland* in the Year 560<sup>y</sup>. So that in 640. it had already obtained among the *Scots*, according to *Bede* himself, for the Space of Seventy-five Years, and consequently was not then a new Heresy among them, nor could it be said to have been but very lately introduced (N). Besides, the Practice of the *Scots* and *Irish* was very different from that of the *Quartodecimans*. The latter kept *Easter* with the *Jews*, that is, on the 14th of the first Moon after the Vernal Equinox, without any Regard to the Day of

Year of  
Christ 640.

The Scots had  
long disagreed  
in that Point  
with the Ro-  
man Church.

The Scots  
and Irish no  
Quartode-  
cimans.

<sup>w</sup> Bed. l. 2. c. 19.

<sup>x</sup> Idem l. de sex ætat.

<sup>y</sup> Idem l. 3. c. 4. et l. 4. c. 4.

*annes Diaconus, et in Dei nomine electus.* When the Pope died, the Archpriest, the Archdeacon, and the Primicerius were immediately to take upon them the Administration, and give Notice of his Death to the Exarch. The Form of the Direction they were to use, when they wrote to the Exarch on that Occasion, or when they acquainted him with the Election of the new Pope, is thus prescribed in the *Journal of the Roman Pontiffs: Domino excellentissimo atque præcellentissimo, et a Deo nobis longæviter in principalibus ministeriis feliciter conservando, III. Exconsuli, Patricio et Exarcho Italiae, III. Archipresbyter, III. Archidiaconus, III. Primicerius Notariorum, servantes locum Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ* (1). It is to be observed,

that *III* was antiently a Mark for the Name, as the Letter *N* is in our Days. The Three above-mentioned Dignitaries governed the *Roman Church*, not only on the Death, but in the Absence of the Pope.

(N) The learned *Usher* thinks the Practice of the *Scots* and *Irish* might have been called by the *Roman Clergy* a new Heresy or Error, and said by *Bede* to have been revived among them in the Year 633. because in that Year a Council was held in *Ireland*, by which it was anew approved and enjoined (2). The *Scotch Bishops* and Clergy probably gave an Account of that Council in the Letter, which they wrote to *Severinus*.

(1) Diurn. Rom. Pontif. tit. 1.

(2) See *Ush. Antiquit. Britann. Eccles.* p. 482.

Year of  
Christ 640.

the Week; whereas the *Scots* and *Irish*, as we learn from *Bede* himself<sup>z</sup>, deferred it to the first Day of the *Week*, when the 14th of the first Moon after the Vernal Equinox happened to fall on any other Day. However, when the 14th of that Moon fell on a *Sunday*, they did not wait till the *Sunday* following, as had been prescribed by the Council of *Nice*; and it was perhaps on that Account that their Practice was by the *Roman* Clergy called an *Heresy*. As for the other Observation of *Bede*, that the said Practice was adopted by some, and not by the whole *Scotch* Nation; we read of no Disagreement among them concerning that Point, whereas frequent Instances occur of their disputing on that Head, and quarreling with the *Roman* Missionaries, and those who had been converted and instructed by them: And thence we may well conclude, that such a Practice was adopted, not by some only, but, at least, by the far greater Part of the *Scotch* Nation, if not (which indeed is most probable) by the whole Nation. Besides, the *Scotch* Nation would never have been said, as it generally is, to have differed, in the Celebration of *Easter*, from all others, had some only of that Nation thus differed. It is not therefore *evident*, that the more sound, the better, and the greater Part of the *Scotch* Nation conformed, from the Beginning, to the *Roman* Practice, as has been confidently advanced by the Jesuit *Alford* in his *Annals* of the *Anglo-Saxon* Church<sup>a</sup>.

The Ecthesis  
condemned by  
the new Pope.

Year of  
Christ 641.

The new Pope was no sooner confirmed by the Exarch, and ordained, than assembling in Council the Bishops, who were immediately subject to his See, he solemnly condemned, with their Approbation and Consent, the *Ecthesis*, anathematizing, at the same time, the Doctrine of one Will in Christ, and one Operation, as evidently repugnant to the Catholic Faith, to the Doctrine of the Fathers, and to the Definition of *Chalcedon* establishing in Christ two distinct Natures, and consequently two distinct Wills, and distinct Operations<sup>b</sup>. A Copy of the Acts of this Council the Pope caused to be immediately transmitted to *Constantinople*, signed by himself, and the Bishops who were present, hoping he should thereby check the Progress which the new Doctrine or Heresy was making daily in the *East*. But *Pyrrhus*, who in 639. had succeeded *Sergius* in the See of *Constantinople*, had already not only received

<sup>z</sup> Bed. l. 3. c. 25.

<sup>a</sup> Alford. ad Ann. 639.  
et Act. S. Maximi apud Bar. ad Ann. 640.

<sup>b</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. Heracl. 20.

the *Ecthesis*, but confirmed in a Council the Doctrine it contained, as the true and genuine Doctrine of the Apostles, of the Fathers, and of the Catholic Church<sup>c</sup>. Instead therefore of paying any sort of Regard to the Authority of the Pope or his Council, he expressed, in a Letter which he wrote on that Occasion to the Pope, no small Surprize at his having condemned a Doctrine, which, he said, his Predecessor *Honorius* had received, taught, and approved. At the same time he caused the two Letters, which *Honorius* had written to *Sergius* concerning the Doctrine of one Will<sup>d</sup>, to be transcribed and sent to all the chief Bishops in the *East*, appealing to them, whether or not Pope *Honorius* had approved, by the Authority of the Apostolic See, the Doctrine, which his Successor had, by the Authority of the same See, rejected and condemned. This was sapping the very Foundation of the Papal Authority; and the Charge was too well grounded to admit of a satisfactory Answer. The Pope however, sensible that the Reputation of his See was at Stake, as well as that of his Predecessor and his own, undertook to answer it in the best Manner he could, maintaining in a long Letter, or rather an Apology, which he addressed to the Emperors *Constantine* and *Heracleonas*, who had succeeded their Father *Heraclius* in the Empire (O), that *Honorius* never had acknowledged but one Will in Christ, and never had approved

Year of Christ 641.  
The *Ecthesis* confirmed by Pyrrhus, of Constanti-  
nople.  
Who charges *Honorius* with having held the same Doctrine.  
The Pope strives to excuse his Predecessor.

<sup>c</sup> Concil. t. 4. Edit. Labbe. p. 214. et t. 5. p. 1697. <sup>d</sup> See above, p. 16, 17, 18.

(O) *Heraclius* died on the 11th of February 641. having reigned thirty Years, four Months, and six Days (1). He was engaged great Part of his Reign in War with the *Persians*, which he carried on with surprising Success. For tho' upon his Accession to the Crown, he found the Empire over-run by several barbarous Nations, the Exchequer quite drained, the military Discipline decayed, and the Army consisting of raw and unexperienced Levies, that scarce deserved the Name of Soldiers; there being, in the whole Army, only two Soldiers alive, when he came to the Crown, who had served under *Mauricius*, tho' he came to the Crown but seven Years after the Death of that Prince (2); he reduced, notwithstanding all

these Disadvantages, that powerful Nation, by the many Victories he gained over them, to so low a Condition, that they were never afterwards capable of attempting any memorable Exploit, nor even of defending themselves, when attacked by the *Saracens*. But the Glory which he acquired in the War with the *Persians*, he forfeited in that which he waged with the *Saracens*, who, breaking into the *Roman* Dominions in his Time, made themselves Masters of some of the best Provinces of the Empire. As I shall have frequent Occasion to mention that People, a succinct Account of them here will not, I presume, be thought foreign to the Subject in hand. As to their Origin, they are commonly supposed to be

(1) Niceph. p. 18. Chron. Orient. p. 60. (2) Theoph. in Vit. Heracl.



Year of  
Christ 641.

proved of that Doctrine. He begins the Letter or Apology with acquainting the Emperor, that he daily received Advice from all Parts, informing him, that the whole *East* was offended and scandalized at the Letters, which his Brother, the Patriarch *Pyrrhus*, spread

the Offspring of those *Arabs*, who being descended from *Ishmael*, the Son of *Agar*, were thence called *Ishmaelites* and *Agarians*: For both these Names are given indifferently to the *Saracens*, by the antient Writers. The Name of *Saracens* they are said by some to have taken, to conceal the Meanness of their Origin, as if *Ishmael* their Progenitor were the Son of *Sarah* the Wife, and not of *Agar* the Handmaid of *Abraham*. But others more probably derive that Appellation from *Sarac*, the Name of one of the best Provinces in the Country they possessed (1). They were always a warlike People, being seldom at Peace with one another, or with the neighbouring Nations. Some of them lived in Towns and Villages; others, having no fixed Habitation, lived in Tents, and removed from one Part of the Country to another. They were famous for breeding Horses, and excelled all other Nations in the Use of Bows, Swords, and Lances. Before the Time of *Mahomet* they were subject to different petty Kings, or Princes, and professed different Religions, some the *Jewish*, and some the *Christian*, but the far greater Part of the Nation were *Pagans*. The *Christian* Religion was planted among them as early as the Fourth Century; for we read of a Bishop sent into their Country about the Year 380. at the Request of a Queen of their Nation, named *Mavia* (2). But to *Mahomet* they all submitted, a very inconsiderable Number of *Christians* excepted, or were forced to submit, and, receiving his Law, acknowledged him for their sole Monarch, as well as their Prophet. And such was the Rise of that Empire, which in Process of Time, became so formidable. Under *Mahomet* they lived in Peace with the *Romans*, as has been observed above (3), but the very

Year after his Death, they became irreconcilable Enemies to the *Roman* Name. This Enmity is differently accounted for by the Historians. *Theophanes* writes, that an Eunuch, whom *Heraclius* had appointed to distribute a Largeß among the Soldiery, having excluded the *Saracens*, who had served in the Imperial Army, from their Share of the Largeß, as deserving rather to be treated like Dogs than like Men, the whole Nation resented the Insult, swore Revenge, and, flying to Arms, broke into the Empire (4). But *Nicephorus* tells us, that the *Saracens* being forbidden by *Heraclius* to export any Commodities out of the Empire, tho' purchased with the Money which he paid them yearly, to the Amount of thirty Pounds Weight of Gold, they were highly provoked at such a Prohibition, and supposing it to have been suggested to the Emperor by *Sergius*, then Governor of *Syria*, they fell unexpectedly upon that Province, and having seized the Governor, put him to a most miserable Death, by sewing him up alive in a Camel's Skin (5). This happened in 633; and the following Year a numerous Body of *Saracens*, sent into *Palestine* by *Abubacharus*, as *Theophanes* calls him, or *Abubeker*, as he is called by *Elmakin*, the Successor of *Mahomet* in the new-founded Empire, took and plundered several Cities, laid waste the Country far and near, and having cut in Pieces the *Roman* General, who came to oppose them, with all his Men, returned home loaded with Booty (6). The same Year *Abubeker* died, and was succeeded by *Omar* the third Caliph or Emperor of the *Saracens*. Under him they invaded *Syria* anew in 635. defeated *Babanes* the Imperial General; took *Damascus*, and having made themselves Masters of all *Phœnice*, advanced from thence into

(1) Chron. Orient. Echell. c. 5. Elmakin. in hist. Saracen. l. 1. Soz. l. 6.

(2) See Henschen. in vit. Moyf. Episc. Saracenor.

(3) See above, p. 10.

(4) Theoph. ad Ann. Alexandrin. 622. Sigebert. in Chron.

(5) Niceph. in

Breviar. p. 16.

(6) Theoph. ad Ann. Alexandrin. 624. Elmakin. ad Ann. Hegir. 13.

spread abroad, teaching a new Doctrine, repugnant to the Catholic Faith, and pretending that Pope *Honorius*, of holy Memory, had held that Opinion. He then undertakes to clear his Predecessor from so black a Calumny, as he styles it, and so groundless an Imputation, and proceeds thus: *Our Predecessor, having been informed by the Patriarch Sergius, of venerable Memory, that some taught there were two contrary Wills in Christ, answered, that Christ was perfect God, and perfect Man; but that he alone, as he came to restore human Nature, was conceived and born without Sin, and therefore had not two contrary Wills, the Will of the Flesh never opposing in him, or combating that of the Spirit. We indeed have all these two Wills, as we have all been conceived and born in Sin; and the one frequently withstands and contradicts the other. But our Lord took one Will only, and that entirely subject to him as to God, whom all Things obey. This Doctrine my Predecessor*

Year of  
Christ 641.

*Egypt*; but *Cyrus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, engaging, in the Name of the People, to pay them an annual Tribute, they were thereby prevailed upon to spare the Country, and retire. From *Egypt* they marched into *Palestine*, besieged *Jerusalem*, and reduced that City in 637. after a two Years Siege (7). The following Year they completed the Conquest of *Syria* by the Reduction of *Antioch*, the Metropolis of that Province; and either in that or the preceding Year made themselves Masters of *Medecina* or *Medecinum*, and the whole Treasure of the *Persian* Kings lodged in that City, and consisting, says *Elmakin*, of *ter millies mille millia aureorum* (8). In the mean time *Heraclius* not approving of the Agreement between the *Saracens* and *Cyrus*, and the *Egyptians* thereupon refusing to pay the stipulated Tribute; the *Saracens* returned into *Egypt*, and having defeated with great Slaughter, and put to flight the Imperial Army, first reduced *Memphis*, and afterwards *Alexandria*, the Metropolis of that antient Kingdom, having lost in the Siege of the latter Place, which lasted fourteen Months, 22,000 Men. *Alexandria* being thus reduced, the whole Country submitted to the Conquerors. The Loss of *Egypt*, which

had continued subject to the Empire ever since the Time of *Augustus*, happened, according to *Elmakin* (9), in the 20th Year of the *Hegira*, of the Christian *Æra* 641st, and the first of the Emperor *Constantine*, *Heraclius* dying some Months before the Reduction of *Alexandria*. Such was the Rise of the Empire of the *Saracens*, and such their first Conquests. *Heraclius* was unquestionably one of the best Generals the Empire had to boast of; and scarce ever failed of Success when he commanded in Person. But after the many signal Victories he had gained over the *Persians* he looked upon the *Saracens*, a People till his Time obscure and inglorious, as an Enemy to be despised rather than feared; and therefore instead of heading his Armies himself, he trusted the Command to Men not at all equal to that Trust, till the Flower of his Troops were cut off, and the rest so disheartened by their frequent Losses, as to fly at the very Sight of the Enemy. Thus we may well account for the great Advantages which the *Saracens* gained in his Time, without recurring, with the Ecclesiastical Writers, to any Judgment upon him for his having countenanced the *Monothelites*, or married his Niece.

(7) Theoph. ad Ann. Alex. 627. Elmakin. ad Ann. Hegir. 16. (8) Elmakin. ad Ann. Hegir. 16. Theoph. ad Ann. Alex. 627. (9) Elmakin. ad ann. Hegir. 20.

Year of  
Christ 641.

But misre-  
presents the  
Subject of the  
Dispute.

taught, and no other. But from his teaching, that there were not in Christ, as there are in us, two contrary Wills, the Will of the Flesh, and that of the Spirit, some misunderstanding his Meaning, or pretending to misunderstand it, have concluded, that he admitted but one Will in Christ as God and as Man. Surely the Pope was better acquainted with the Subject of the Letters that passed between *Sergius* and *Honorius*, than to think, that the Question was, what he would here make the Emperor believe it to have been, whether two contrary Wills were to be admitted in Christ, the one of the Flesh, the other of the Spirit. He could not but know, that the Dispute was not whether in Christ, only as Man two Wills were to be admitted, but whether two were to be admitted in Christ as God and Man, the one Human and the other Divine, and in Consequence of these two Wills, two distinct Operations or Acts of Willing. That was, as is evident from the Letter of *Sergius*, and the Answer of *Honorius*<sup>e</sup>, the Subject of the Dispute; and in that Dispute *Sergius* declared for one Will, and so did *Honorius*, openly protesting, that he agreed with *Sergius*, and with him acknowledged one Will in Christ, *Unam fatemur voluntatem Domini nostri Jesu Christi*; and, *Hæc nobiscum fraternitas vestra prædicet, sicut et ea vobiscum unanimiter prædicamus*. Had he acknowledged but one Will in Christ only as Man, he had not agreed with *Sergius* maintaining, that there was but one Will in Christ as God and as Man; and his Answer had been quite impertinent and foreign to the Purpose. But I shall have Occasion to resume this Subject hereafter.

His Confuta-  
tion of the  
Monothelite  
Doctrine.

The Pope in the next Place undertakes to confute the Doctrine of the *Monothelites*; and argues thus: "If we are to admit but one Will in Christ, as God and as Man, which of the two must we admit? the Human only or only the Divine? If the Human, it will thence follow, that Christ was not perfect God; if the Divine, that he was not perfect Man. For he could not be perfect Man without the Human, nor perfect God without the Divine Will. If the Human Will is said to have been absorbed by the Divine Will, the Human Nature too must necessarily be said to have been absorbed by the Divine Nature; for where there is but one Will, there can be but one Nature. And thus we come

\* See above, p. 16, 17, 18.

† Ibid. et Bar. ad Ann. 633. p. 318.

## John IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

31

“ in the End to agree with the *Eutychians*, and to hold a Doctrine  
 “ so often condemned by the Church, and the Fathers.” On this Ar-  
 gument great Stress was laid by all, who argued or wrote against the  
*Monothelites*, as the most obvious, the most easy to be understood, and  
 the most unanswerable by those of that Sect, who received the  
 Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, or that of two distinct Natures in Christ. The  
 Pope closes his Letter with earnestly intreating the two Emperors, as  
 the Protectors and Guardians of the true Faith, to cause the Writing  
 (meaning the *Ecthesis*) which he was informed had been lately issued  
 against the Council of *Chalcedon*, and set up in the most public  
 Places of the Imperial City, to be taken down, and publicly torn,  
 or consigned to the Flames &.

Year of  
 Christ 648.

*Constantine*, who was a Catholic Prince, and Heir, as *Zonaras*  
 informs us, to the Empire, but not to the wicked Opinions of his  
 Father, did not live long enough to satisfy the Pope, or even to re-  
 turn an Answer to his Letter. But *Constans* his Son and Successor (P)  
 is said by *Eutychius* to have answered it, and to have acquainted the  
 Pope in his Answer, that agreeably to the excellent Command of his  
*Holiness*, he had caused the Writing, containing Calumnies against  
*Leo the holy Patriarch of Rome*, and the Council of *Chalcedon*,  
 to be taken down, and consigned to the Flames <sup>b</sup>. But the Autho-  
 rity of that Writer is by no means to be relied on; and in this very  
 Place he confounds *Constantine Pogonatus* the Son of *Constans* with  
*Constans* himself, ascribing to *Pogonatus* the Answer to the Pope's  
 Letter, and not to his Father *Constans*, by whom alone it could have  
 been written, *Pogonatus* not being yet born at the time it is sup-  
 posed to have been written. However, from the Letter which Pope

The *Ecthesis*  
 revoked by the  
 Emperor.

<sup>a</sup> Anast. in Collectaneis.

<sup>b</sup> Eutych. Annal. Edit. Oxon. t. 2. p. 335.

(P) *Heraclius* bequeathed the Empire  
 to *Constantine* and *Heracleonas*, his two  
 Sons; the former by *Eudocia*, and the lat-  
 ter by *Martina* his Sister's Daughter.  
*Constantine* outlived his Father only 103  
 Days, says *Theophanes* (1), and conse-  
 quently must have died on the 25th of  
 May 641, since the Death of *Heraclius*  
 happened on the 11th of February of that  
 Year. Upon the Death of *Constantine*,  
*Heracleonas* took *Martina*, by whom his

Brother is said to have been poisoned, for  
 his Partner in the Empire. But they had  
 scarce reigned six Months, when the Se-  
 nate, highly dissatisfy'd with their Admi-  
 nistration and Conduct, deposed them;  
 and having caused his Nose to be cut off,  
 and her Tongue to be pulled out, sent them  
 both into Exile, and proclaimed in their  
 room *Constans* the Son of *Constantine*, and  
 Grandson of *Heraclius* (2).

(1) Theoph. ad Ann. Alex. 638.  
 Zonar. Cedren. &c.

(2) Idem ibid. et Niceph. in Chron. p. 19.

*Theodore,*

Year of  
Christ 641.

*Theodore*, the Successor of *John*, wrote immediately after his Election to *Paul* the Successor of *Pyrrhus* in the See of *Constantinople*, it appears, that the Emperor revoked the *Ecthefis*: For in that Letter the Pope complains of the new Patriarch for not causing the Writing to be taken down, which had been publicly set up in the Imperial City, tho' the Emperor had been pleased to repeal it <sup>i</sup>.

John dies,  
Year of  
Christ 642.

The Pope spent the remaining Part of the short Time he lived in collecting Reliques, in building, repairing, or embellishing Churches, and, what is far more commendable, in redeeming the unhappy Christians, whom the *Slavi* or *Sclavi* (Q) had carried into Captivity <sup>k</sup>. He had learnt, it seems, from what had happened in the Vacancy preceding the late Pontificate thus to employ, and not to hoard up, as *Honorius* had done, the Wealth of the Church. He died on the 11th of *October* 642. having sat in the Chair one Year, nine Months, and eleven Days <sup>l</sup>, and was buried in the *Vatican*.

CONSTANS.

THEODORE, <sup>ROTHARIS</sup>  
King of the Lombards.

Seventy-second BISHOP of Rome.

Theodore  
elected.  
Year of  
Christ 642.

*JOHN* was succeeded by *Theodore*, a Native of *Jerusalem*, and the Son of a Bishop of the same Name. He was ordained on the 24th of *November* 642. after a Vacancy only of one Month, and thirteen Days <sup>m</sup>; a plain Proof, that the Election of the Pope was still confirmed by the Exarch. For the Decree of the Election of *Theodore* could not, in so short a time, have been sent to *Constan-*

is.

<sup>l</sup> Anast. in Collectan. p. 50.  
<sup>m</sup> Anast. in Theodor.

<sup>k</sup> Anast. in Joan. IV.<sup>l</sup> Anast. ibid.

(Q) The *Slavi* or *Sclavi* came originally from the Banks of the *Borysthenes* in the *European Sarmatia*, passed the *Danube* in the Reign of *Justinian* (3), and breaking into *Illyricum*, made themselves Masters, in Process of Time, of the Western Part of that Province between the *Drave* and the *Save*, which from them

took, and still retains, the Name of *Sclavonia*. They made frequent Inroads into the neighbouring Provinces, especially in the Reign of *Heraclius*, while that Prince was engaged in War with the *Persians*, and carried off great Numbers of Captives.

(3) Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 3.

tinople,

*tinople*, and the Imperial Decree, confirming it, brought from that City to *Rome*. His Election was no sooner known at *Constantinople*, <sup>Year of Christ 642.</sup> than *Paul*, the new Patriarch, sent to him, according to Custom, <sup>Paul of Con-</sup> as he did, without doubt, to the Bishops of the other great Sees, his <sup>stantinople</sup> Confession of Faith. *Paul* had been advanced to the Patriarchal <sup>sends him his</sup> Dignity, by the Emperor *Constans*, in the room of *Pyrrhus*, who, <sup>Confession of Faith.</sup> being generally suspected, and, it seems, not without Reason, as if he had been privy to the Death of the Emperor *Constantine*, had <sup>Year of Christ 643.</sup> thought it advisable to abandon his See, and save himself by Flight from the Fury of the incensed Populace, and the Judgment of the Senate. *Paul's* Confession, or Synodical Letter, as it was called, has not reached our Times; but from the Pope's Answer it appears, that tho' he was a no less zealous *Monothelite* than his two immediate Predecessors *Sergius* and *Pyrrhus*, he passed himself upon his Holiness for a true Catholic, for one whose Belief was intirely Orthodox. *The Hearts of Men*, says the Pope in his Answer, *are purify'd by Faith; and you have shewn by your Letter, that the Streams of your Faith flow from the purest Fountains; that you preach what we preach, that you believe what we believe, and teach what we teach.* But notwithstanding the supposed Orthodoxy of his Faith, <sup>The Pope supposes him</sup> the Pope finds great Fault with his Conduct in other respects, and <sup>Orthodox in his Belief,</sup> reproaches him in a friendly manner with not having yet ordered <sup>but finds</sup> the scandalous Writing to be taken down from the Gates of the <sup>fault with him in other</sup> great Church (meaning the *Ecthesis*) and with suffering himself to <sup>respects,</sup> be ordained in the room of a Bishop not lawfully deposed. "As  
 " your Faith is Orthodox, says he, I should be glad to know, why  
 " you, my Brother, have not yet ordered the Writing to be taken  
 " down, which has given so great Offence to all true Catholics?  
 " If you condemn it, how can you suffer it to remain expos'd to  
 " public View on the very Gates of your Church? If you receive  
 " and approve it, which Heaven avert, why have you not ingenuously  
 " owned what you truly believe? Do you believe what you are  
 " afraid or ashamed to own you believe? We have indeed been  
 " greatly surpris'd to find the Title of MOST HOLY bestowed on  
 " *Pyrrhus* by the Bishops who ordained you, in their Letter to us.  
 " They inform us, that *Pyrrhus* has abandoned his See on account  
 " of the public Disturbances, and the Hatred of the People. But  
 " can the public Disturbances, can the Hatred of the People, deprive  
 " a Bishop of his Episcopal Dignity? I must let you know, beloved  
 VOL. III. F " Brother,

Year of  
Christ 643.

His Charge  
against  
Pyrrhus.

A modest  
Proposal of  
the Pope.

“ Brother, that I have been some time in Suspense with myself  
 “ whether I should receive your Letter now, and acknowledge you  
 “ for my Fellow-Bishop, or wait till *Pyrrhus* was lawfully deposed.  
 “ For so long as he lives, and is not fairly tried and condemned, a  
 “ dangerous Division may arise in the Church. You must therefore, to  
 “ secure your own Ordination, assemble a Council of the neighbouring  
 “ Bishops, and judge him with them according to the Canons. It  
 “ is not necessary that he should be present, since you have his  
 “ Writings, and his Crimes are notorious.” The Crimes he specifies,  
 and reduces the Charge against *Pyrrhus* to the following Articles:  
 I. He bestowed great Commendations on the Emperor *Heraclius*,  
 who had anathemized the Catholic Doctrine, and the Orthodox Fa-  
 thers. II. He approved and signed a scandalous Writing, containing  
 a pretended Symbol, or Confession of Faith. III. He surprised some  
 Bishops into an Approbation of the same pretended Symbol, and  
 persuaded them to sign it. IV. He caused that Writing, tho’ evi-  
 dently repugnant to the Council of *Chalcedon*, to be publicly set  
 up in the Imperial City, as the only Rule of Faith. These are the  
 Crimes, for which *Pyrrhus* ought, in the Opinion of the Pope, to  
 have been not only divested of the Episcopal Dignity, but even of the  
 Priesthood, and reduced to the State of a Layman<sup>n</sup>. As to his con-  
 spiring against the Emperor, and being accessary to his Death, as was  
 generally supposed, and is positively affirmed by *Theophanes*, that  
 was but a venial Sin, not worthy of notice, when compared with  
 his commending *Heraclius*, and receiving the *Ecthesis*. The Pope  
 closes his Letter with the following Proposal; viz. That if the judg-  
 ing *Pyrrhus* at *Constantinople* was likely to be attended with, or pre-  
 vented by, any public Disturbances, he might be sent to *Rome* to be  
 judged there and punished according to his Deserts by him and his  
 Council \*. A modest Demand indeed, that a Bishop of *Constanti-*  
*nople* should be sent to *Rome* to be judged, condemned, and de-  
 posed there by the Pope, and his Council! But at this time *Pyrrhus*  
 had fled in Disguise from *Constantinople*, and nothing was alleged  
 against him by the Pope but what *Paul* approved of, tho’ thought at  
*Rome* to be quite Orthodox in his Belief. At the same time the Pope  
 wrote to the Bishops, who had ordained the new Patriarch, congra-  
 tulating them on the Election and Ordination of so worthy and de-  
 serving a Prelate, and yet finding fault with their Conduct in ordain-

\* Anast. in Collect.

• Idem ibid.

ing him before his Predecessor, guilty of so many enormous Crimes (the Crimes mentioned above), was lawfully condemned and de-  
posed P. Year of  
Christ 643.

The Patriarch paid no kind of Regard, as we may well imagine, to the Advice of the Pope; nay, instead of assembling a Council to judge *Pyrrhus*, to condemn and depose him for countenancing the *Monothelites*, and their Doctrine, he confirmed that Doctrine in a Council assembled for that Purpose; ordered the *Ecthesis* to be kept on the Gates of the great Church, that all might know what they ought, and what they were to believe; and would suffer no Bishop or Presbyter to be ordained, within the Limits of his extensive Jurisdiction, who had not previously received it, and solemnly declared his Assent to the Doctrine it contained. His Example was followed by the two Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and the *Ecthesis* by that means universally received in three of the great Patriarchates, as the only Rule of Faith with respect to the Mystery of the Incarnation. In *Palestine* it was received by some, and rejected by others; which gave rise to a Schism among the Bishops of that Province; those, who received it acknowledging, and those, who did not receive it, refusing to acknowledge *Sergius* of *Joppa*, a most zealous *Monothelite*, who, upon the Death of *Sophronius*, had intruded himself into the Patriarchal See of *Jerusalem*, and usurped a Patriarchal Power and Authority over the Bishops and Churches of *Palestine*. In the Island of *Cyprus* the Bishops joined all to a Man, against the *Ecthesis*, condemned it with one Voice in a Council held there under *Sergius* their Primate (for the Primate of *Cyprus* was *Autocephalus*, or subject to no Patriarch), and wrote a long Letter to Pope *Theodore* to complain of *Paul* of *Constantinople* for holding and promoting to the utmost of his Power, an Opinion plainly repugnant to the Faith of *Chalcedon*, and the repeated Decrees of St. *Peter* and his See. Their Letter was directed to *Theodore the most holy and blessed Father of Fathers, Archbishop, and Universal Pope*<sup>a</sup>; and no less pompous Titles were given to the Bishops of *Constantinople* by those of their Party.<sup>r</sup>

In the West the *Ecthesis* was universally condemned; and the Bishops of *Africa* distinguished themselves above the rest by their Zeal

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.  
Secret. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Apud Bar. ad Ann. 643. p. 365, 366. et Concil. Lateran.  
<sup>r</sup> See above, p. 14. note G.

Year of  
Christ 643.

The *Ecthesis* received by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Rejected and condemned by the Bishops of Cyprus, who write to the Pope.  
Year of  
Christ 644.

The *Ecthesis* universally condemned in the West, especially in Africa.



Year of  
Christ 646.

The African  
Bishops write  
to the Pope  
and the Em-  
peror in fa-  
vour of the  
Doctrine of  
two Wills.

for the opposite Doctrine. The three Primates of *Numidia*, *Byzace*, and *Mauritania*, not satisfy'd with anathematizing the Doctrine of one Will in the Councils they held in their respective Provinces, wrote a Letter in common to the Pope, exhorting him not only to anathematize that impious Doctrine, but to cut off from the Communion of the Church all who maintained it, even their common Brother, *Paul* of *Constantinople*, if, being admonished, he did not repair, by a speedy Repentance, the Scandal he had given. They wrote at the same time two other Letters; one to *Paul* of *Constantinople*, exhorting him to renounce the impious Doctrine, which they were informed he taught and professed, and to cause the scandalous Writing to be taken down, which they heard, with great Concern, was still kept, by his Order, exposed to public View on the Gates of the chief Church of the Imperial City. The other Letter they wrote to the Emperor, intreating him, as the Protector and Defender of the Church, and the Catholic Faith, to maintain that Faith pure and undefiled, and restrain, by his royal Authority, the Patriarch from teaching any other, and leading astray the numerous Flock committed to his Care \*. With these Letters the *African* Bishops proposed sending a solemn Deputation to *Constantinople*; but all Intercourse being in the mean time cut off between *Africa* and *Constantinople* by the Revolt of *Gregory*, Governor of that Province, they sent their Letters to the Pope to be transmitted by him to the Imperial Court. The Bishops likewise of the Proconsular Province, or the Province of *Carthage*, assembling in that City, acknowledged in Christ two Natures, two Wills, and two distinct Operations, condemned with one Voice the opposite Doctrine, by whomsoever taught and maintained; and wrote a long Letter, much to the same Purpose with that of the other three Councils, to *Paul* of *Constantinople*, styling him nevertheless, their most blessed, honourable, and holy Brother †.

Victor the  
new Bishop of  
Carthage ac-  
quaints the  
Pope with  
his Promo-  
tion.

About this time died *Fortunatus* of *Carthage*; and *Victor*, who was chosen in his room, had no sooner taken Possession of the See, than by a solemn Deputation, at the Head of which was *Mellofus*, Bishop of *Gisippe*, he acquainted the Pope with his Promotion, declaring in the Letter which he wrote on that Occasion, his inviolable Attachment to the Doctrine of the Fathers, and an utter Abhorrence of that, which, in Opposition to them, was taught and countenanced by his Brother and Fellow-Bishop *Paul* of *Constantinople*. The

\* Concil. Lateran. Secret. 2.

† Concil. Lateran. ibid.

other *African* Bishops had addressed the Pope in a Stile quite unbecoming Men of their Rank and Dignity, calling him *the Father of Fathers*, and *the high Pontiff of all Bishops*; had extolled without Reserve or Discretion the Power and Authority of the Apostolic See, and magnify'd beyond all Bounds the pretended Privileges and Rights of that See. But the new Primate, to prevent, as it were, the Pope from taking Advantage of, or founding any Claim upon the indiscreet and unguarded Expressions of his Fellow-Bishops, addressed him only as his Brother; and in his Letter told him, in plain Terms, that the blessed Apostles had all an equal Share of Honour and Power, *Omnes beatissimi Apostoli pari honoris ac potestatis consortio præditi*: <sup>Year of Christ 646.</sup> *He acknowledges no Power in the Pope but what was common with him to all Bishops.* Which was telling him in other Words, that he could claim no Honour or Power as the Successor of St. *Peter*, but what was common with him to the other Bishops, as the Successors of the other Apostles.

It was chiefly by means of an Abbot named *Maximus*, a Man famous at this Time for his Learning and Piety, and a most zealous Stickler for the Doctrine of two Wills, that the *African* Bishops were brought thus unanimously to declare for that, and to condemn, in the manner we have seen, the opposite Doctrine. *Maximus*, of whom we shall have frequent Occasion to speak in the Sequel, was descended of an antient and illustrious Family in *Constantinople*, and had been many Years employ'd by *Heraclius* as his private Secretary, and trusted with Affairs of the greatest Importance. But when that Emperor, declaring for the Doctrine of one Will, took the *Monothelites* under his Protection, he resigned his Employment, and bidding, at the same time, farewell to the Court and the World, withdrew to a Monastery in the City of *Chrysopolis*, where he had not been long, when he was by the Monks, for his eminent Virtues, appointed their Abbot. But in the mean time the *Monothelite* Party growing daily more powerful in the East, he resolved to abandon his native Country, and retire to the West to alarm the Bishops in those Parts against the new Doctrine, and prevent by that means their being brought by Surprise to receive it; no Pains being spared by *Pyrrhus*, then Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to gain over to that Party the Western Bishops. Pursuant to that Resolution, *Maximus*, quitting his Solitude, went first into *Africa*, where he had been but a very

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Lateran. ibid. et Baron. ad Ann. 646. p. 380.

Year of  
Christ 646.

Pyrrhus of  
Constanti-  
nople, and  
Maximus,  
form two op-  
posite Parties  
in Africa.

short time, when *Pyrrhus*, who had abandoned his See, and fled from *Constantinople*, arrived in that Province. As *Pyrrhus* was a no less zealous Advocate for the Doctrine of one Will, than *Maximus* was for the Doctrine of two, and both were Men of great Parts and Address, they soon formed two opposite Parties, to the great Disturbance of the whole Province. Hereupon the Bishops, who till their Arrival in *Africa* either had not heard of that Controversy, or had not thought fit to concern themselves with it, apply'd to *Gregory*, then Governor of the Province, begging he would no longer suffer either *Pyrrhus* or *Maximus* to preach such abstruse Doctrines to the ignorant Multitude, but oblige them to dispute the Points, about which they disagreed, in his and their Presence, that the State of the Question being thoroughly known, as well as the Reasons and Arguments for and against the two opposite Opinions, they might be capable of judging which was the best grounded, and consequently which ought to be received, and which rejected.

Public Dis-  
pute between  
the two An-  
tagonists.

The Proposal was readily agreed to by *Gregory*, and no less readily by the two Antagonists, who thereupon entered the Lists in the Presence of the Bishops, and the Nobility, assembled from all Parts on Purpose to hear them. The whole Dispute was carefully taken down by the public Notaries; and several very antient Manuscript Copies of it are still to be seen in the *Vatican* Library, under the following Title; *The Question concerning an Ecclesiastical Dogma, that was disputed before the most pious Patrician Gregory, in an Assembly of the most holy Bishops, and the Nobility, by Pyrrhus Patriarch of Constantinople, and the most reverend Monk Maximus, in the Month of July, the third Indiction; Pyrrhus defending the new Dogma of one Will in Christ, wickedly introduced by himself and his Predecessor Sergius; and Maximus maintaining the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Fathers, as delivered to us from the Beginning.* It was translated into *Latin* by the Jesuit *Turriano*; and his Translation, with the *Greek* Original in the opposite Column, is to be found at the End of the eighth Volume of *Baronius's* Annals, where

Pyrrhus pre-  
tending to be  
overcome, ab-  
jures the Do-  
ctrine of one  
Will, first in  
Africa, and  
afterwards  
at Rome.

it takes up twenty-eight Pages in Folio. The Subject of the Dispute was Metaphysical; and the Disputants, to do them Justice, shewed themselves thoroughly acquainted with all the Subtleties of the most refined Metaphysics. But *Pyrrhus*, who had been obliged to abandon his See, and wanted to recommend himself to the Protection and Favour of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the other Bishops in the West,

yielded

yielded in the End; and pretending that he thought the Doctrine of one Will unanswerably confuted, and the Doctrine of two unanswerably proved, solemnly abjured the former Opinion, as evidently repugnant to the Doctrine of the Church, and the Fathers, and embraced the latter, as intirely agreeable to both. I said, *pretending that he thought* the Doctrine of one Will unanswerably confuted, &c. for that he did not really think so will sufficiently appear from his future Conduct; and we shall see him embracing again the Opinion, which he now abjures, and abjuring that, which he now embraces. However his Conversion was thought sincere by the *African* Bishops, who thereupon, assembling in their different Provinces, declared with one Voice for the Opinion of *Maximus*, and condemned, in the manner we have seen, the Opinion of *Pyrrhus*. From *Africa* *Maximus* carried his pretended Convert, as it were in Triumph, over to *Rome*, where he abjured his Heresy anew (for so he stiled it) in the Presence of the Pope, and the whole *Roman* Clergy and People crouding to see so new a Spectacle; and was thereupon received with great Pomp and Solemnity to the Communion of the *Roman* Church, and thenceforth treated and honoured by the Pope as Patriarch of *Constantinople* \*.

The *African* Bishops had not only written to the Pope, condemning the Doctrine of one Will, and complaining of *Paul* of *Constantinople* for striving to establish that Opinion, but likewise to the Emperor, and to *Paul* himself, as has been related above; and these Letters the Pope, to whom they were sent, took care to convey, as soon as he received them, to his *Apocrisarii* at the Imperial Court. He wrote himself, on that Occasion, a second Letter to the Patriarch, much to the same Purpose; as we may suppose (for it has not reached our Times) with the Letter of his Brethren in *Africa*. These Letters were, pursuant to the Pope's express Command, both delivered by his *Apocrisarii* into the Patriarch's own Hands, who, in a long Letter, which he thereupon wrote to the Pope, ingenuously owned, that he acknowledged but one Will in Christ, and one Theandric Operation, alleged many Reasons and Arguments, and likewise the Testimony of some of the Fathers, in favour of that Opinion, strove to shew it no-ways repugnant, but rather agreeable to the Decrees of the Councils condemning *Nestorius*.

Year of  
Christ 646.

The Pope  
writes to  
Paul of Con-  
stantinople.  
Year of  
Christ 647.

Paul's An-  
swer to the  
Pope.

Year of  
Christ 647.

and *Eutyches*; and concluded with exhorting the Pope, in his Turn, not to disturb the Peace of the Church, but acquiesce in the Doctrine, which their Predecessors the two holy Bishops of new and old *Rome*, *Sergius* (whom he names in the first Place) and *Honorius*, had professed and defined <sup>†</sup>. In his Letter he gave the Pope no other Title but that of *Brother* and *Fellow-Bishop*.

Pyrrhus publicly retracts his late Retraction.

Year of  
Christ 648.

The Pope had not yet received this Letter, when he was informed that *Pyrrhus*, whose Conversion had afforded Matter of great Triumph to the Western Bishops, had publicly retracted, at *Ravenna*, his late Retraction, and put himself at the Head of the *Monothelite* Party there. He had continued some time at *Rome*, entertained by the Pope, who acknowledged him for Bishop of *Constantinople*, in a manner suitable to his high Station. But when he found, that the Favour and Protection of the Western Bishops served rather to obstruct than to forward the Restoration of his forfeited Dignity, he resolved to abandon them, and return to his old Friends. With that View he withdrew from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, and meeting there with great Encouragement from the Exarch *Plato*, a most zealous *Monothelite*, and a Man of great Interest at Court, he changed Sides anew, abjuring the Opinion which he had lately embraced, and no less solemnly than he had solemnly embraced it. This new and unexpected Change in *Pyrrhus* mortified, and at the same time exasperated the Pope to such a Degree, that he no sooner heard of it, than assembling the neighbouring Bishops, and the whole *Roman* Clergy, in the Church of *St. Peter*, he not only thundered the Sentence of Excommunication, with repeated Anathemas, against the *new Judas*, but calling, in the Transport of his Zeal, for the consecrated Wine of the Eucharist, he poured some Drops of it into the Ink, and wrote his Condemnation with the Blood of Christ <sup>‡</sup>. Did *Theodore* believe the Wine, which he thus mixed with his Ink, to be the real Blood of Christ? No Man can think he did without condemning him as guilty of the most criminal Profanation and Sacrilege. As for the Example of *St. Basil* alleged by *Combissius* to justify the Conduct of *Theodore* on this Occasion; no unprejudiced Person can think that Father less guilty of Profanation and Sacrilege, than the Pope, if he believed the

Excommunicated by the Pope in a very remarkable Manner.

<sup>†</sup> Concil. Lateran. Secret. 4. et Bar. ad Ann. 646. p. 382—384.  
ad Ann. Heracl. 20. et Auſt. Lib. Synodici.

<sup>‡</sup> Theoph.

consecrated

## Theodore. BISHOPS of Rome.

41

consecrated Bread to be the real Body of Christ, and yet desired it might be buried with him. These and several other Instances of the like Nature, that occur in History, plainly shew, that the Doctrine of the real Presence was yet unheard of in those Times.

Year of  
Christ 648.

In the mean time *Paul* of *Constantinople*, to gratify, in some Degree, and appease the Pope and the *African* Bishops, whom he found from their Letters to be strangely incensed against him, caused at last the *Ecthesis*, of which they chiefly complained, to be taken

Paul causes  
the Ecthelis  
to be sup-  
pressed.

down from the Gates of the great Church; and at the same time to prevent their raising new Disturbances, should they still complain, and insist, as he apprehended they would, on his renouncing his own and embracing their Opinion, he advised the Emperor, and no better Advice could have been offered in the present Circumstances, to interpose his Authority, and forbid, as he tendered the Peace of the State as well as the Church, all farther Disputes concerning a Point, which, as it could never be determined to the Satisfaction of both Parties, would prove an eternal Source of Strife and Contention.

And advises  
the Emperor  
to impose Si-  
lence on both  
Parties.

The Emperor hearkened very readily to the Advice of the Patriarch:

And soon after was issued, and set up in the most public Places of the Imperial City, the famous Edict, known by the Name of *Type*, or *Formulary*. In that Edict the Emperor first explains, and indeed

An Edict is-  
sued for that  
Purpose,  
known by the  
Name of the  
Type.

with great Perspicuity, the two different Opinions concerning the Will and Operations of Christ; hints at the Reasons, on which both Opinions were grounded, without betraying the least Bias to the one or the other; and after expressing great Concern at the unchristian Divisions, that reigned among his Catholic Subjects, and a sincere Desire of seeing them all united, especially their Pastors, in brotherly Kindness and Charity, he strictly forbids all Disputes, under any Pretence or Colour whatever, concerning the Will or Wills, the Operation or Operations of Christ; exhorts his loving Subjects to take the holy Scriptures, the five Oecumenical Councils, and the Doctrine of the approved Fathers, for the Rule and Standard of their Faith, without troubling themselves, or others, about Articles not defined by them, nor expressly delivered; and solemnly protests and declares, that in thus imposing Silence on both Parties, he has nothing in View but to consult the Welfare and Peace of the People, whom it has pleased the Almighty to commit to his Care. He adds, that to leave no room for farther Complaints, and to satisfy even those, who seemed most inclined to

Year of  
Christ 648.

quarrel and complain, he has caused the Writing, which had been set up on the Gates of the great Church of the Imperial City, concerning the present Dispute, to be taken down and suppressed; and closes the Edict with exhorting all to conform to it on Pain of incurring his Indignation, and being, in Consequence thereof, punished with the utmost Severity, as Disturbers of the public Peace and Tranquillity. All Bishops and other Ecclesiastics were to be deposed and degraded; the Monks were to be excommunicated, and driven from their Habitations, Men of Fortune and Rank were to forfeit both, as well as their Employments, whether Civil or Military, and Persons of no Rank nor Fortune to be publicly whipt, and condemned to perpetual Banishment<sup>a</sup>.

In what the  
Type differ-  
ed from the  
Ecthesis.

This Edict differed widely from the *Ecthesis*, of which I have spoken at Length elsewhere<sup>a</sup>. For by the *Ecthesis* the Doctrine of one Will was expressly defined, and Silence enjoined only concerning the Operations. But by the present Edict Silence was required concerning the Will as well as the Operations, and nothing was defined for or against either of the two opposite Opinions. No wonder therefore, that the Emperor, who had flattered himself that both Parties would, on that Consideration, readily comply with his Edict, wreaked his Vengeance, in the manner we shall see hereafter, on those who did not comply with it.

The Pope ex-  
communicates  
the Patri-  
arch.

Year of  
Christ 649.

The Patriarch had suggested to the Emperor the suppressing of the *Ecthesis* to gratify the Western Bishops, as has been observed above, and the publishing of the present Edict, or the *Type*, to prevent their raising new Disputes, or attempting any thing in the Heat of their Zeal, against him or his Brethren in the East, that might endanger the Peace of the Church. But before the Suppression of the *Ecthesis* was known at *Rome*, or the Publication of the *Type*, the Pope had received the above-mentioned Letter from the Patriarch, and thereupon excommunicated him with great Solemnity, as an incorrigible Heretic, and declared him, by the Authority of St. *Peter*, divested of all Ecclesiastical Power and Authority. This rash Step in the Pope provoked the Patriarch to such a Degree, that he no sooner heard of it than, to revenge the Affront, he ordered the Altar in the Chapel of the Palace of *Placidia*, where the *Apocrisarii* of the Bishops of *Rome* lodged, and per-

The Patri-  
arch revenges  
himself upon  
the Apocri-  
sarii of the  
Pope.

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Lateran. Secret. 4. Bar. ad Ann. 648. p. 388.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 19, 20.

formed Divine Service, to be pulled down, the sacred Utensils to be seized, some of their Retinue to be imprisoned, some to be sent into Exile, and some to be publicly whipt <sup>b</sup>. Such Acts of Violence and Revenge can no more be justify'd in the Patriarch, than the excommunicating of him can be justify'd in the Pope. But the Pope struck the first Blow; and the Ecclesiastics of those Days seem to have been all alike unacquainted with the Doctrine of our Saviour, and the Maxims of the Gospel.

Year of  
Christ 649.

On the Pope's thus excommunicating and deposing two Bishops of *Constantinople*, *Paul* and *Pyrrhus*, great Stress is laid by the Popish Writers, to prove the Universal Jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. But Instances are not wanting of Popes being excommunicated in their Turn, and deposed by the Bishops of *Constantinople*, and the Bishops of *Alexandria*. And why should the Pope's excommunicating them be rather alleged as a Proof of an universal Jurisdiction, than their excommunicating him? The Truth is, and a Man must be very little versed in Ecclesiastical History, not to know it, that the Patriarchs were all independent of each other; that by the Laws of the Church, as well as the Empire, they were to be condemned and deposed only by a general Council, and consequently that it was an open Violation of those Laws in the Pope, to excommunicate or depose any other Patriarch, and in any other Patriarch to depose or excommunicate the Pope. And truly no greater Regard was paid in the Church to the Judgment given by the Pope against the other Patriarchs, than was paid to the Judgment given by the other Patriarchs against the Pope. Thus *Paul*, tho' condemned and deposed by *Theodore*, was nevertheless, so long as he lived, acknowledged for lawful Bishop of *Constantinople* by the Emperor, by the other Patriarchs, and by all the Bishops in the East, some few excepted, who, in the present Controversy, adhered to the Pope; nay, and upon his Death *Pyrrhus*, tho' excommunicated, deposed, and condemned at *Rome*, in the very extraordinary Manner we have seen, was restored to the Patriarchal Dignity, and universally owned in the East for lawful Bishop, as if he had never been judged, nor condemned.

No kind of  
Regard paid  
to the Sen-  
tence of the  
Pope.

The Pope lived but a very short time after the Condemnation of *Paul*. For, according to the most probable Opinion, he was con-

*Pope Theo-  
dore dies.*

<sup>b</sup> Anast. in Theodor. Concil. Lateran. in exord.



Year of  
Christ 649.

demned in 649. and *Theodore* died on the 13th of *May* of the same Year, having held the See six Years, five Months, and nineteen Days. He is said to have built some Churches, to have repaired others, and to have enriched several with many valuable Presents<sup>c</sup>.

CONSTANS.

M A R T I N,

ROTHARIS  
King of the Lombards.*Seventy-third* BISHOP of Rome.

Martin  
chosen.

The Emperor  
confirms his  
Election, and  
exhorts him  
to conform to  
the Type.

The Pope as-  
sembles a  
Council in  
Rome.

I N the room of *Theodore* was chosen, and ordained on the fifth of *July*, after a Vacancy of fifty-two Days, *Martin*, a Native of *Todi* in *Umbria*, and Presbyter of the *Roman* Church<sup>d</sup>. The Emperor had very readily confirmed his Election, flattering himself that he should thereby the more easily engage him to receive the *Type*, and observe the Silence enjoined by that Edict. At the same time therefore that he confirmed his Election, he begged and conjured him, by a very friendly Letter, to forbear all farther Disputes concerning the Will and Operations in Christ, and conform to an Edict, which he assured his Holiness had been issued with no other View or Design, but to defeat the wicked Attempts of evil Men, who sought to divide his Catholic Subjects, and involve in endless Disturbances both the State and the Church<sup>e</sup>. What Answer the Pope returned to that Letter we know not, but certain it is, that instead of acquiescing in the *Type*, as the Emperor had flattered himself he would, nothing being there required of the one Party, that was not required of the other, he had no sooner taken Possession of the See, than he assembled a great Council to condemn the Doctrine, concerning which Silence had been so strictly enjoined, nay, and the *Type* itself, or Imperial Edict, that enjoined it. His acting thus in open Opposition to the declared Will, and express Command of the Emperor, is said to have been chiefly owing to the importunate Suggestions of the Abbot *Maximus*, who was at this time in *Rome*, and had, it seems, a great Ascendant over the new Pope. The Council assembled in the *Secretarium*, or Vestry

<sup>c</sup> Anast. in Theodor.    <sup>d</sup> Anast. in Martin.    <sup>e</sup> Surius l. 4. die 24. Aug. c. 8.

of the Church, called *Constantinian*, in the *Lateran* Palace, was composed of 205 Bishops, all of *Italy*, or the adjacent Islands, and ended in five Sessions or Conferences called *Secretaria*, by the Name of the Place, where they were held. Year of Christ 649.

The Council met the first time on the fifth of *October* of the present Year 649. when the Bishops being all seated, *Theophylactus*, the *Primicerius* or Chief of the Notaries, rising up exhorted them, with the Words of the Prophet *Joel*, to blow the Trumpet, to sound an Alarm, to warn the Faithful of the Danger they were in of being seduced, and led astray, by the Teachers of wicked and detestable Doctrines. He then addressed the Pope, begging his Holiness would acquaint the venerable Bishops with the Motives, that had induced him to call them together, as well as the End, for which he had called them. Hereupon the Pope, in a long Speech, gave them an Account of the Rise and Progress of the new Heresy, of the Attempts made by *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, by *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, and *Paul* of *Constantinople* to introduce their heretical Doctrine into the Church; alleged several Passages out of the Fathers to shew, that they, no doubt inspired and taught by the Holy Ghost, had acknowledged two Wills in Christ, and two Operations as well as two Natures, and that to deny or confound the two Wills was, according to their Doctrine, no less repugnant to the Definition of *Chalcedon* and the Catholic Faith, than to deny or confound the two Natures, charged the two Patriarchs *Sergius* and *Paul* with publishing Expositions of Faith, in the Names of the Emperors *Heraclius* and *Constans*, evidently inconsistent with that Doctrine, but thought *Paul* the more guilty of the two, since by him Men were neither allowed to acknowledge in Christ one Will, nor two, as if Christ had no Will at all. Here the Pope grossly mistakes the Meaning and Purport of the *Type*, and no doubt wilfully to bias the Bishops of the Council against that Edict; since he could not but know, that Men were not thereby required to acknowledge no Will in Christ, neither one nor two, for that had been condemning both Opinions, but were only restrained from disputing and quarreling about either Opinion; which was no more than what Pope *Honorius* had done, when this impertinent Question first began to make a Noise, and raise Disturbances in the Church<sup>f</sup>. The Pope in the

*His Speech to the Bishops who composed it.*

*He misrepresents the Meaning and Purport of the Type.*

<sup>f</sup> See above, p. 17.

Year of  
Christ 649.

Cloſe of his ſpeech told the Biſhops, that his Predeceſſors had done all that lay in their Power to maintain the Catholic Truth, to ſuppreſs the prevailing Hereſy, and reclaim the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* from the Errors they taught and patronized ; but the Exhortations, Intreaties, Menaces, Letters, and Embaſſies, of the Apoſtolic See, having all alike proved ineffectual, he had thought it neceſſary to aſſemble a Council, and hear the Opinions of his Brethren, concerning the new Doctrines, as well as the Perſons who taught and maintained it. He therefore exhorted them to ſpeak their Minds freely, remembering the Command of the Apoſtle ; *Take heed unto yourſelves, and to all the Flock over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers, to feed the Church of God.*

A Letter  
from Maurus  
of Ravenna  
read in the  
Council.

When the Pope had done ſpeaking, *Maurus* Biſhop of *Ceſena*, and *Deuſdedit* Deacon of the Church of *Ravenna*, acquainted the Aſſembly, that *Maurus* Metropolitan of *Ravenna* had propoſed aſſiſting at the Council in Perſon ; but having been prevented, had appointed them to ſupply his room, and charged them with a Letter, which they deſired might be read and inſerted in the Acts of the Council. It was addreſſed to Pope *Martin*, *Universal Pontiff*, and contained a Declaration, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, of the Doctrine of two Wills and two Operations. The Letter being read, *Maximus* of *Aquilea* riſing up declared, that he too acknowledged two Wills in Chriſt, and two diſtinct Operations, and condemned all Expoſitions of Faith inconſiſtent with that Doctrine. But *Deuſdedit* of *Cagliari* begged that none might deliver, or be required to deliver their Opinion, till the Queſtion was thoroughly examined. To this they all agreed ; and thus ended the firſt Seſſion 8.

Several Pe-  
titions pre-  
ſented to the  
Council, and  
read.

The Council met again on the 8th of the ſame Month, when *Stephen* Biſhop of *Dora* in *Paleſtine* preſented a Petition to the Aſſembly, ſetting forth, that *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, and *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, and *Paul* of *Conſtantinople*, had broached a new Hereſy ; teaching that in Chriſt, as God and Man, there was but one Will, and one Operation ; that *Sophronius* of bleſſed Memory, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, had oppoſed that Doctrine as ſoon as it was broached, and publiſhed a Writing containing ſix hundred Paſſages from the Fathers in favour of two Wills and two Operations ; that not long before

his Death he had taken the Petitioner with him up to Mount *Calvary*, and there made him promise to go to *Rome* in Person, and solicit the Condemnation of an Opinion so expressly condemned by the Fathers; that, pursuant to that Promise, the Petitioner came to *Rome* in the time of the late Pope, and apply'd to him, as he now applies to the Council. In the next Place was read a Memorial presented by some *Greek* Monks and Presbyters, and addressed to Pope *Martin*, *Bishop of Bishops, and Father of Fathers*. They begged that *Cyrus*, *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, and *Paul*, might be condemned as the Authors, Abettors, and Promoters, of Heresy, and with them the impious *Type* lately published in the Name of the Emperor. After these Memorials, the Letters were read which I have mentioned above, from *Sergius* Metropolitan of *Cyprus*, from the three Councils of *Africa*, and from *Victor* of *Carthage* to the late Pope, all filled with heavy Complaints against *Paul* of *Constantinople*, and warm Declarations in favour of the Doctrine of two Wills. As *Victor* had charged *Paul*, in his Letter, with teaching new Doctrines, and yet styled him his Fellow-Bishop, the Pope took Occasion from thence to observe, that tho' the holy Primate of *Africa* look'd upon *Paul* as an Heretic, he continued nevertheless to own him for his Fellow-Bishop, not presuming to treat him otherwise than as a Bishop, till he was judged and deposed by the Authority of the Apostolic See; that is, says the Pope, *by the Authority of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, who alone deserved to receive the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and to whom alone they were given*<sup>b</sup>. No Passages so clear and decisive ever were or could be alleged, out of the Fathers, against the Doctrine of one Will, as might be alleged against the Doctrine, which the Pope here so confidently lays down. For that the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were not given to *St. Peter* alone, but to the other Apostles as well as to *St. Peter*, is, in express Terms, affirmed by all the Fathers, who have explained the Words of our Saviour, *To thee will I give, &c.* or spoken of the Keys (K). But that there

Year of  
Christ 649.

Ridiculous  
Observation  
of the Pope  
on the Letter  
of Victor of  
Carthage to  
his Prede-  
cessor.

were

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. Secret. 2.

(K) *Were the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, says Origen, given by the Lord to Peter alone, and did none of the other Apostles receive them? But if this, To thee will I give, &c. was common, are not likewise all the other Things common, that were spoken to St. Peter (1)? Here Origen supposes those Words of our Saviour to have been*

(1). Orig. in Mat. xvi. p. 275.

spoken,

Year of  
Christ 649.

were two Wills in Christ, and two distinct Operations, could only be inferred, and by a long Chain of Consequences, from the Passages quoted by the Pope, and the Bishops of the Council, none of the Fathers having, in express Terms, asserted either that there were, or that there were not, two Wills in Christ, and two Operations.

Passages and  
Writings in  
favour of the  
Doctrine of  
one Will read  
and ex-  
amined.

In the third Session, held on the 17th of the same Month, several Passages were produced and read out of the Writings of those, who were said to have held the Doctrine of one Will; and it was found, that *Theodorus*, formerly Bishop of *Pharan* in *Palestine*, had the first of all taught that Doctrine; maintaining that in Christ there were indeed different Operations, but that they all proceeded from the Word alone. As *Sergius* and *Cyrus* had alleged a Passage from the supposed Works of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* to confirm their Opinion, the Original was consulted, and it appeared, that they had changed the Words, a new *Theandric Operation*, into one *Theandric Operation*. The Pope took a great deal of Pains to prove, that by a new *Theandric Operation* were meant two Operations; the Works ascribed to *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, being then as universally received as genuine, as they are now universally rejected as spurious. In the same Session were read the *Ecthesis* of *Heraclius*, the Acts of the two Councils held at *Constantinople* by *Sergius* and *Pyrrhus*, to approve that Exposition or Edict, and a Letter to the same Effect from *Cyrus* of *Alexandria* to *Sergius* <sup>k</sup>.

Paul of Con-  
stantinople  
declared a  
professed He-  
retic.

The Council met the fourth time on the 19th of October, when the Letter which *Paul* had written to Pope *Theodore*, was read <sup>l</sup>, and he thereupon declared a professed and incorrigible Heretic. The *Type*

<sup>k</sup> Concil. Lateran. Secret. 3.

<sup>l</sup> See above, p. 39, 40.

spoken to the Apostles in common; and consequently the Keys to have been promised and given to them in common, as a Truth that no Man questioned; and concludes from thence, that whatever else was by our Saviour spoken to St. Peter, was spoken to the Apostles in common. St. Jerom says in express Words, that all the Apostles received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven (2). St. Ambrose, that what was said to St. Peter, was said to all the

Apostles (3): And *Theophylactus*, that tho' it was said to Peter alone, I will give thee the Keys, yet they were given to all the Apostles (4). Nay, *Chrysostom* distinguishes St. John by this Character: He who has the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven (5): And St. Austin thought the Words, To thee will I give the Keys, &c. tho' spoken to Peter, had no clear Sense, but when they were understood of the Church (6).

(2) Hier. in Job. 1. 14.  
Mat. 10.

(3) Ambr. in Psal. 38.  
(5) Chrys. in Pref. Evangel. Joan.

(4) Theophyl. in  
(6) Aug. in Psal. 108.

was read next, and by all rejected, as plainly calculated to restrain Men from professing the Truth, and combating the opposite Errors. <sup>Year of Christ 649.</sup> The Decrees of the five General Councils were read in the last Place, <sup>The Type rejected.</sup> and with them the *Nicene Creed*, as the Standard and Rule, by which all Persons arraigned of Heresy, were to be judged, and condemned or absolved <sup>m.</sup>

In the fifth and last Session, which was held the last Day of *October*, the Pope ordered the Passages to be read out of the *Greek and Latin Fathers*, that countenanced, or seemed to countenance, the Doctrine of two Wills and two Operations; and in Opposition to them, such Passages out of the Works of the *Arian, Apollinarian, Nestorian, and Eutychian Writers*, as countenanced, or seemed to countenance, the Doctrine of one Will and one Operation; and it was with one Voice concluded by the whole Assembly, that the Doctrine of two Wills was the true Catholic Doctrine, and that of one plainly Heretical. Hereupon twenty Canons were issued, anathematizing the Doctrine of the *Monothelites, the most impious Ecthesis, the most wicked Type* lately published against the Catholic Church by the most Serene Emperor *Constans* at the Instigation of *Paul* the pretended Bishop of *Constantinople*, and all who had received, did receive, or should thenceforth receive, either of those impious Edicts. In the Canons twenty-one Heretics were anathematized by Name, and with them *Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul of Constantinople*, as avowed Heretics, and Rebels to the Catholic Church. The Canons were signed by all who were present, and in the first Place by the Pope, in the following Terms: *I Martin, by the Mercy of God Bishop of the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the City of Rome, have signed, as Judge, this Definition, confirming the Orthodox Faith, and condemning Theodorus formerly Bishop of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul of Constantinople, and their Heretical Writings, with the impious Ecthesis, and the impious Type* <sup>n</sup>. It is observable, that in the Canons, establishing what they called the Catholic Doctrine, it is constantly said, If any do not receive and profess such and such Doctrines according to the holy Fathers, let him be anathematized; but as to the Scripture, it was not so much as once mentioned, as if such a Book had never been written, or none of the Council ever had heard of it. By the seventeenth Canon all are anathematized, who

*The Doctrine of one Will condemned; and with it the Ecthesis and the Type.*

*And all anathematized who received either.*

<sup>m</sup> Concil. Lateran. Secret. 4.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. Secret. 5.

Year of  
Christ 649.

Or did not  
believe what-  
ever had been  
taught by the  
Fathers.

do not believe in their Hearts, and profess with their Mouths, *to one* *Not or Tittle*, whatever has by the Fathers been delivered to the Church, which was anathematizing all who did not believe in their Hearts, and profess with their Mouths, contradictory Doctrines; nothing being more certain, nothing better known to those who are in the least versed in the Writings of the Fathers, than that they sometimes contradict themselves, and frequently one another; nay, that the most renowned among them have taught Doctrines evidently repugnant to the holy Scriptures, to Reason, and even to common Sense<sup>o</sup>.

Scandalous  
Partiality of  
Martin to his  
Predecessor  
Honorius.

I cannot help observing, before I proceed, the scandalous Partiality which *Martin* betray'd, on Occasion of this Council, to his Predecessor *Honorius*. For that *Honorius* held the Doctrine, for which *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, and the three Bishops of *Constantinople*, *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, and *Paul*, were condemned by the Council, is manifest from his Letters; and we shall soon see him, for those very Letters, anathematized as an Heretic by an Oecumenical Council, and the Letters themselves condemned to the Flames, as containing the impious Doctrine taught by *Cyrus*, *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, and *Paul*. And yet of these Letters *Martin* took not the least Notice, nor even of the famous Letter, which *Sergius* wrote to *Honorius*, establishing and proving the Doctrine of one Will<sup>a</sup>; but contented himself with producing against *Sergius* the Letter, which he wrote on the same Subject to *Cyrus*, with the Answer of *Cyrus* to that Letter; and, upon these Letters, both were condemned by the Council. Had he produced against *Sergius* his Letter to *Honorius*, and caused it to be read in the Council, he could not well have avoided causing the Answer to be read at the same time which *Honorius* had returned to that Letter, and consequently condemning him as well as *Sergius*. And it was, without all doubt, to avoid that, and to screen his Predecessor, while he condemned, we may say, his Accomplices, that he suppressed the above-mentioned Letter of *Sergius* to him. For what other Reason can be alleged, why he condemned all the other Letters in favour of the Doctrine of one Will, as conveying the Venom of the most pestilent Heresy; and suffered that alone, conveying as much Venom, as the most venomous among them, to pass uncondemned? *Bellarmino*, from *Martin's* not condemning *Honorius* with *Cyrus*, *Sergius*, &c. argues thus in favour of that Pope: *Martin* was a great Saint,

<sup>a</sup> See Daillé concerning the right Use of the Fathers, l. 2. c. 4.    <sup>o</sup> See above, p. 16. and

Martin.

## BISHOPS of Rome.

51

Year of  
Christ 649.

and consequently incapable of all Partiality; *ergo*, if he did not condemn *Honorius* with *Cyrus*, *Sergius*, &c. it was because he found something in his Letters repugnant to the Catholic Faith <sup>b</sup>. But 1st, Fathers of the sixth General Council found something in his Letters repugnant to the Catholic Faith; and so did some Popes more than *Martin*, tho' not so great Saints, as we shall see hereafter. *Martin* well knew, that the *Monothelites* all quoted the Letters of *Honorius*; that they declared in all their Writings, that they held no other Doctrine, but what had been taught by *Honorius* of old Rome in his Letters to *Sergius*. And can any Man say, that if *Martin* had found nothing in the Letters of *Honorius* repugnant to the Catholic Faith, he would not have produced them against the *Monothelites*, and clear his Predecessor, in the Council and the World, from so black and groundless Accusations? *Bellarmino* styles it? Can any Man believe, that when *Martin* read in the fourth Session, which *Paul* of *Constantinople* presided in, that *Theodore*, the immediate Predecessor of *Martin*, had been Pope to acquiesce in the Doctrine, which their Predecessors, *Sergius* and *Honorius*, had held and professed? I say, believe, that *Martin* would not, on such an Occasion, have produced the Letters of *Honorius*, had he not known that they would have been made to appear, that *Martin* had professed any such Doctrine? From what has been said, it is plain, that *Martin* well knew *Honorius* had held the same Doctrine, which he condemned *Cyrus*, and the three others; and consequently, that he acted the Part of a Zealot, in condemning them, and not him.

*Martin's* Partiality, on occasion of this Affair, is manifest in the Type as wicked, and in every Part of his Letters. The least Notice of the Letters of *Honorius*, in joining the same Silence that was frequently liable to the same Censure, as *Cyrus* and the others, were liable to the same Censure, is manifest in his Writings. But others, by distinguishing between the Letters of *Honorius*, it had been highly commendable in *Martin* to have enjoined it, but wicked and unjust in him to have enjoined it, or his Counsellor *Paul*. *Honorius*,

<sup>c</sup> See above, p. 16, 17.

*Honorius*,



Year of  
Christ 649.

*norius*, say they, enjoined Silence when the Question was first moved, when the Dispute was just begun, when nothing had been yet defined for or against either Opinion, and every Man was at liberty to embrace the one or the other. But it was after the one had been condemned as an Heresy, and the other defined as a Catholic Truth by the Pope in a Council (Pope *John IV.*)<sup>d</sup> that Silence was enjoined by the Emperor<sup>e</sup>. But if every Man was at liberty to embrace either Opinion till the one was condemned and the other approved, by *John IV.* in the Council of *Rome*, it will thence follow, that *Cyrus* and *Sergius*, who died before that Council, could be guilty of no Heresy; and consequently, that they were both unjustly condemned by *Martin*, as Heretics. Besides, the Type was condemned by *Martin*, as wicked and impious, because Silence was thereby enjoined concerning a Doctrine defined, or pretended to have been defined, by the Council of *Chalcedon*, and taught by all the approved Fathers. And if the Type was condemned on that Consideration as wicked and impious, it is manifest, that the Letters of *Honorius* were so too; since by them, as well as by the Type, Silence was enjoined concerning a Doctrine supposed to have been defined by the Council of *Chalcedon*, and taught by all the approved Fathers. To enjoin Silence therefore, when *Honorius* enjoined it, was no less wicked and impious, than it was wicked and impious to enjoin it, when *Constance* enjoined it, or his Counsellor *Paul*. To conclude, the only Difference that appears to have been between the Type, and the Letters of *Honorius*; the only Reason that can be alleged, why the Type was condemned, and not the Letters, is, that the Type was supposed to have been suggested by a Bishop of *Constantinople*, and the Letters were written by a Bishop of *Rome*. Now to resume the Thread of the History.

The Pope  
sends the Acts  
of his Council  
to the  
chief Bishops  
in the East,  
and in the  
West.

The above-mentioned Canons were no sooner signed, than the Pope caused them to be copied, and sent with the whole Proceedings of the Council to several Bishops in the East, in *Africa*, in *France*, in *Spain*, and in *Britain*; informing them, by a circular Letter, of the new Heresy; of the Progress it had made in the East; and of the Complaints of the Catholic Bishops in those Parts, and in *Africa*, which had obliged him to assemble a General Council (for so he calls it), as the only effectual Means of putting a Stop to the growing

<sup>d</sup> See above, p. 26.

<sup>e</sup> Pagi in *Annal. Far. ad Ann. 648. n. VI. et seq.*

Evil. In that Letter he alleges several Arguments in Confirmation of the Doctrine defined by the Council; but on this he lays the chief Stress, *viz.* That Christ was, according to the Fathers, perfect God, and perfect Man; but could not be perfect God, without a Divine Will and Divine Operations; nor perfect Man, without an Human Will and Human Operations. The Type he condemns, as *in every respect impious*; pretending it was thereby defined, that Christ had no Will at all, neither a Divine or an Human Will; and, generally speaking, charges the *Monothelites* with holding and professing, as their avowed Doctrine, all the absurd and blasphemous Doctrines, that could, according to him, and his Method of Reasoning, be any-ways deduced from their real Opinion.

Year of Christ 649.

His chief Argument in favour of two Wills.

Besides the circular Letter addressed to all Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Monks, and the whole Church, the Pope wrote to several Bishops in particular, to acquaint them with the Condemnation of the new Heresy and its Abettors, and exhort them to cause the Canons of the Council, that had condemned them, to be observed in their respective Dioceses. As the Popes let no Opportunity of extending their Power pass unimproved, *Martin* finding that several Bishops in the East adhered to him in Opposition to their own Patriarchs, took Occasion from thence to appoint one of them (*John of Philadelphia*) his Vicar in those Parts, empowering him by the Authority, and in the Name of St. *Peter*, to exercise all Patriarchal Jurisdiction in the Patriarchates of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, the two Patriarchs *Macedonius* and *Sergius*, who had intruded themselves into those Sees, and besides openly professed the Doctrine of one Will, not being acknowledged by those of the opposite Party for lawful Bishops. This was a bold Attempt, but so well timed as not to prove quite unsuccessful, the Bishops in those Parts, who opposed the *Monothelites*, chusing rather to obey the Pope, who was at the Head of their Party, than their own Patriarchs, whom they look'd upon both as Intruders and Heretics.

Bold Attempt of the Pope to establish his Power and Jurisdiction in the East.

It was on Occasion of this Council that the Popes had first recourse to the Kings of *France*, who afterwards proved their great Patrons and Protectors. For *Martin*, thinking it his Duty to acquaint the Emperor, and by a solemn Legation, with the Proceedings of his Council; but at the same time apprehending, and indeed with a great deal of Reason, that *Constans*, provoked at his condemning, in so solemn a manner, an Opinion, concerning which he had commanded

The Pope proposes to acquaint the Emperor by a solemn Legation with the Proceedings of the Council, and to employ on that

Year of  
Christ 649.

Occasion the  
Subjects of  
the Kings of  
France.

manded a strict Silence to be observed, might, in the Transport of his Passion, wreak his Vengeance on the Legates; bethought himself of employing, in that Legation, the Subjects of the two *French* Kings *Clovis* and *Sigebert*, of whom the former reigned in *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, and, the latter in *Austrasia*. As the Emperor courted, at this time, the Friendship and Alliance of those Princes against *Rotharis*, the brave King of the *Lombards*, the Pope did not doubt but their Subjects would be well received at the Imperial Court; and even flattered himself, that the Emperor, fearing to disoblige them, would not take that Vengeance of him, which he otherwise might. He therefore wrote to both Kings, acquainting them with the Condemnation of the *Monothelites* in a General Council, and earnestly intreating them to appoint some of the greatest Reputation and Credit among their Bishops, to be employ'd in a solemn Legation, which he propos'd sending to *Constantinople*, with the Acts of that Council. His Request was readily comply'd with, and the two Bishops *Eligius* of *Noyen*, and *Andoenus* of *Rouen*, both Men of great Merit, and both now honoured by the Church of *Rome* as great Saints, were named for the intended Legation. But while they were upon the Point of setting out for *Rome*, something happened, as we are told, quite unforeseen, that obliged

But his Design not taking Place, he acquaints the Emperor with them by a Letter.

Year of  
Christ 650.

them to lay aside all Thoughts of undertaking, at that time, so long a Journey<sup>t</sup>. This proved a great Disappointment to the Pope, who hereupon contented himself with informing the Emperor of the Transactions of the Council by a most submissive and flattering Letter, address'd to his *most pious and serene Lord, and Son*, *Constantinus Augustus, who loved God in Truth, and his Son our Lord Jesus Christ*. In that Letter he alleged the same Reasons, which he had alleged in his other Letters, to convince the Emperor, that the Doctrine of one Will was repugnant to the Definitions of the Councils, to the Doctrine of the Fathers, and to the Belief of the Church; and consequently that it had been deservedly condemned<sup>u</sup>.

The Exarch, in Compliance with the Emperor's Order, attempts to seize on the Pope.

The Emperor greatly concerned to see his Subjects divided among themselves by religious Disputes, at a time when they ought all to have united against the common Enemy, the *Saracens*, who made daily new Acquisitions in the Empire, had ordered the Governors of the Provinces to cause the Type to be strictly observed within

<sup>t</sup> Vita S. Eligii, c. 33.

<sup>u</sup> Martin. ep. 3.

the Limits of their respective Jurisdictions, more especially *Olympius* Exarch of *Italy*, charging him, if he found the Soldiery disposed to stand by him, and the Pope offered to oppose his Edict, to seize him, and send him Prisoner to *Constantinople*, that the other Bishops might be thereby deterred from following his Example. Pursuant to that Order, the Exarch no sooner heard of a Council assembling at *Rome*, than he repaired thither in great Haste, with a Design to execute the Commission he had received, if the Pope refused to comply with the Imperial Edict. But on his Arrival in that City, he found the Populace, suspecting he was come with no good Design, all determined to defend the Pope, and the Soldiery no ways disposed to act against him. Hereupon not thinking it adviseable to make any Attempt on the Person of the Pope, which he knew would be attended with a good deal of Bloodshed, and might in the End prove unsuccessful, he contented himself with striving to raise a Schism in the *Roman* Church. But he was obliged in the mean time to leave *Rome*, and hasten into *Sicily* with all the Troops he could muster, to oppose the *Saracens*, who had made a Descent upon that Island; and there he died, spent with the Toils and Fatigue of that Expedition<sup>v</sup>. The Bibliothecarian adds, that *Olympius*, finding he could not prevail by Force, had recourse to Treachery, and going to the Church of the Virgin *Mary*, now known by the Name of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, to receive the Eucharist there at the Pope's own Hands, he gave private Orders to his Shield-bearer to stab his Holiness while he was administering it to him, and not upon his Guard; but that the Shield-bearer was miraculously struck blind in the Attempt, and the Exarch, converted by that Miracle, was reconciled with the Pope, and revealed to him the Order, which he had received from the Emperor<sup>x</sup>. But of this Miracle no Notice is taken by any of the contemporary Writers, not by the Pope himself, even where he relates what passed at *Rome* between him and the Exarch.

*Olympius* being dead, *Theodorus*, surnamed *Calliopas*, was appointed Exarch of *Italy* in his room, and charged by the Emperor, provoked beyond measure at the Proceedings of the Council, and the Disobedience of the Pope, which he stiled open Rebellion, to get him, at all Events, into his Power, to oblige the *Romans* to chuse another Bishop in his room, and send *Martin*, thus deposed,

Year of  
Christ 651.

But fails in  
the Attempt.

Fables related  
by Anastasius.

The new Exarch commanded to seize the Pope, and oblige the Romans to chuse another in his room.

<sup>v</sup> Anast. in Martin. Plat. ibid.

<sup>x</sup> Idem ibid.

Year of  
Christ 653.

The Exarch  
marches to  
Rome.

under a strong Guard to *Constantinople*. In Compliance with that Order, *Calliopas* no sooner arrived at *Ravenna*, than, assembling all the Troops of the Exarchate, he marched with them in Person to *Rome*. His unexpected Appearance, with so great a Force, alarmed the *Romans*; and the Pope, not doubting but he designed some Attempt upon him, caused himself to be carried in his Bed, which he had kept some time, from the *Lateran* Palace into the *Lateran* Church, and to be laid there, as in a safe Asylum, before the Altar. However, he immediately sent some of the chief Men among the Clergy to wait on the Exarch in his Name, and at the same time to discover, if by any means they could, his real Design and Intention; for he gave out, that he was marching into *Sicily*, to drive out the *Saracens*, who had settled in that Island. The Exarch received the Ecclesiastics, in Appearance, with the most sincere Protestations of Friendship and Kindness; and told them, that he was greatly concerned to hear his Holiness was indisposed; that indeed he was too much fatigued with his Journey, to wait on him that Day; but that nothing should prevent him from paying his Respects to the holy Bishop the next Day. But he was, in the mean time, either informed, that the *Lateran* Palace was filled with Men and Arms, or suspected it was; and that the Pope was determined to repel Force, if any was offered, by Force, having the whole City of *Rome* on his Side. Upon that Intelligence, or Suspicion, the Exarch, pretending to be indisposed, and not yet well recovered from the Fatigues of his Journey, put off his Visit to the third Day; and then to discover, in his Turn, the Designs and Intention of the Pope, he sent his Secretary with others of his Retinue, to acquaint him, that he did not think it safe for him to wait on his Holiness in Person, having been informed, that he had provided himself with Men and Arms, and designed to receive him not like a Friend, but an Enemy. The Pope received those who were sent, with the greatest Condescension and Kindness; complained to them of the Exarch, for crediting such groundless and bare-faced Calumnies; assured them, that he had rather die a thousand times, than suffer any Man to expose his own Life to the least Danger to save his; and, for their farther Satisfaction, allowed them to search the whole Palace. Upon their Return the Exarch, now satisfy'd that he should meet with no Opposition, for he was desirous of executing the Order he had received without Bloodshed, set out from

from his Palace attended by a Band of Soldiers, and repairing to the *Lateran*, entered the Church, where the Pope lay in Bed, with the whole *Roman* Clergy assembled about him. The Soldiery, on their first entering the Church, broke all the Wax-tapers in pieces, overturned the Candlesticks, and with that Noise, and the clashing of their Arms, struck all, who were present, with Consternation and Terror. In the midst of that Tumult, and general Fright, the Exarch produced an Order from the Emperor, commanding him to depose *Martin* as unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, to send him Prisoner to *Constantinople*, and cause another to be chosen in his room. When this Order was read, the Pope, rising from his Bed, delivered himself up into the Hands of the Exarch, without hearkening to some of the Clergy, who declaring they would stand by him to the last, advised him not to submit, but suffer them to repel Force by Force. As he came out of the Church surrounded by the Soldiery, the Clergy, and with them the Populace, ever at their Devotion, cried all aloud, *Cursed be the Man, who says or believes, that Pope Martin has made the least Alteration in the Faith: Cursed be the Man, who doth not persevere in the Catholic Faith to the Hour of his Death.* At those Words the Exarch turning to the Multitude, *I join with you*, said he, *there is no other true Faith, and I profess no other myself.* When the Pope was told by the Exarch, that he must go with him to his Palace, he begged some of the Clergy might be allowed to accompany him thither; which being readily granted, the Bishops, who were present, cried out, *We will all attend him, we will all live, and we will all die with him.*

He passed that Night in the Palace under a strong Guard; and was visited the next Morning by the whole *Roman* Clergy, a free Access to him being granted by the Exarch to all who came. Some, determined to attend him to *Constantinople*, were suffered to stay the following Night in the Palace; and they had got all Things ready for the intended Voyage. But in the dead of the Night the Pope was privately convey'd on board a Vessel, that lay in the *Tyber*, with a few Domestics, the Gates of the Palace, as well as the City, being shut as soon as he was carried out, to the great Disappointment of those, who intended to have embarked with him. After a three Months Navigation, they landed in the Island of *Naxos*, one of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* Sea, or the *Archipelago*.

Year of  
Christ 653.

*Suffers great  
Hardships in  
his Voyage,  
and during  
his Imprison-  
ment in that  
Island.*

*ago*, and there the Pope was kept Prisoner a whole Year. During that Voyage they touched at several Places, and all went ashore but the Pope, who was never once suffered to set Foot out of the Vessel; tho' by the Sickness incident to those, who are not accustomed to the Sea, he loathed all kind of Food, and besides was most miserably tormented with the Gout, and at the same time with a Flux, that allowed him no Respite Night nor Day. In several Places the Clergy and others came on board to visit and comfort him, bringing with them whatever they thought a Man in his Situation could stand in need of. But what they brought was seized by his inhuman Guards, and those, who brought it, or pitying his Condition came to comfort him, were driven away, and sometimes cruelly beaten as Enemies to the State, and Rebels to the Emperor. In the Isle of *Naxos* he was kept Prisoner in a private House; and during the whole Year he staid there, only allowed to bathe three times; which he complains of as a great Hardship in the Letter, from which I have copied the present Account of his Sufferings from the time he was seized till his Removal from *Naxos* to *Constantinople*.\*

*He is con-  
vey'd after a  
Year's Im-  
prisonment  
from Naxos  
to Constan-  
tinople.*

Year of  
Christ 654.

*The cruel  
Treatment he  
met with  
there.*

For when he had been kept a Year in that Island, his Guards or Keepers received an Order from the Emperor to bring him to *Constantinople*; and he was accordingly put on board a Vessel, which sailing from *Naxos* arrived in the Port of that City on the 17th of *September* of the present Year, the Pope having met with no better Treatment in this, than he had done in his former Voyage. The Vessel came in early in the Morning, but the Pope was left lying on the Deck till near Sun-set, exposed to the Insults of a Rabble, whom his Keepers stirred up against him; calling him an Heretic, a Rebel, an Enemy to God and the State. At last came, a little before Sun-set, a Scribe named *Sagoleva*, attended by a numerous Guard, who taking the Pope from on board the Vessel, carried him in a close Chair, the Gout not allowing him to set Foot to the Ground, to the Prison called *Prandearia*, where he was kept ninety-three Days, no one being suffered, during that time, to come near him. He found means however to write and convey from his Prison two Letters to *Theodore* of *Esbu*s in *Arabia*, whom he stiled his sincerely beloved Brother. For *Theodore* had once di-

\* Martin ep. 15. ad Theodor.

stinguished himself by his Zeal for the Doctrine of one Will; but renouncing that, was become a most zealous Advocate for the opposite Doctrine. In the first of these Letters the Pope acquaints *Theodore* with the Crimes, that were laid to his Charge; *viz.* that he had altered the Faith; that he had privately corresponded with the *Saracens*, the Enemies of the Empire, and assisted them both with his Advice, and with Money; and had spoken disrespectfully of the Virgin *Mary*. He solemnly declares the Whole to be a Contivance of his Enemies to compass his Ruin; and as to the last Article of the Charge, he anathematizes, in this World and the next, all who do not honour, who do not *adore* the ever-blessed Virgin *Mary*, Mother of God, above all Creatures, her Son only excepted<sup>1</sup>. Here the learned *Du Pin* would not have us to take the Word *adore* in a rigorous Sense<sup>2</sup>; but in what other can it be taken, when it signifies more than to honour, as it evidently does in the Pope's Letter? In the other Letter the Pope gives *Theodore* the Account of his Sufferings, which I have delivered above; and adds; that at the time he wrote he had been forty-seven Days without using or being suffered to use either the cold or the hot Bath; that his Flux still continued as violent and troublesome as ever; that the Food, which he liked, was denied him, and that only allowed him which he disliked the most, and which therefore could neither nourish nor support him; but that he hoped he should soon have finished his Course, and that then God would, in his infinite Mercy, touch the Hearts of his Enemies, and bring them to Repentance<sup>3</sup>.

When the Pope had been kept ninety-three Days in the above-mentioned Prison, and treated all that time in the manner we have seen, he was at last, by an Order from the Emperor, brought under a strong Guard to the Council-Chamber; and there he found the whole Senate assembled, and the High Treasurer of the Empire sitting, as Judge, above all the rest. He was scarce set down, for he was carried thither in a Chair, when the Treasurer, named *Bucoleon*, commanded him, in great Wrath, to rise up and stand. The Pope kept Silence, but those, who were about him, saying that he was not able to stand, *If he cannot stand*, reply'd the Treasurer, *let two of you hold him up; for he must not sit here.*

<sup>1</sup> Martin. ep. 14.    <sup>2</sup> Du Pin Nouv. Biblioth. l. 5. p. 68.    <sup>3</sup> Martin. ep. 15.



Year of  
Christ 654.

He is charged  
with High  
Treason.

He was held up accordingly; and then the Treasurer said to him with an imperious Voice, *Tell me, thou miserable Wretch, What has the Emperor done to thee? Has he injured thee? Has he oppressed thee? Has he taken any thing from thee by Force? Hast thou nothing to say?* For the Pope was silent, *Let the Witnesses come in.* At these Words the Doors were opened, and a Croud of Witnesses came in, among whom were *Andrew*, the Secretary of the late Exarch *Olympius*, and *Dorotheus* a Patrician of *Sicily*; but the rest were all common Soldiers, who had served under *Olympius*. At their Appearance, the Pope smiling, *Are these, said he, your Witnesses? Is this your Method?* And when they were required to swear on the Gospels, he earnestly begged the Judge, in the Name of him who was one Day to judge them all, that he would be satisfy'd with their bare Asseveration, and not oblige so many unhappy Wretches to forswear themselves, and damn their Souls. They were sworn however; and all agreed in attesting upon Oath, that *Martin*, late Bishop of *Rome*, was privy to the treasonable Practices of *Olympius*, who had formed a Design, as was discovered after his Death, of revolting from the Emperor, and causing himself to be acknowledged for absolute Lord of the Territories, that still belonged to the Empire in *Italy*. *Dorotheus* declared among the rest, that if *Martin* had fifty Heads, he ought to lose them all for concealing the wicked Designs of the Traitor *Olympius*, and thereby exposing the whole Western Empire to Ruin. Another deposed upon Oath, that *Martin* was assisting to *Olympius*, and even encouraged the Soldiers to take the Oath of Allegiance to him. Hereupon the Pope, being asked, whether he confessed or denied what he had heard alleged against him, answered, *I will tell you the Truth, if you are disposed to hear it: When the Type was first published, and sent to Rome by the Emperor* — But he was immediately interrupted by the Prefect *Troilus* crying out, *What Type? what have we to do with the Type? You are now questioned about Crimes against the State, and not your Belief; we are all Christians, and all good Catholics.* The Pope answered, *I wish to God it were so, but fear, that one Day I shall bear Witness against you in that too at a more tremendous Tribunal than yours.* But what an abandoned Wretch art thou, continued *Troilus*, to know what *Olympius* was *machinating* against the Emperor, and not offer to oppose him, nay to encourage and countenance him.

The

The Pope denied that he had ever encouraged or countenanced him; and as to his not having opposed him, if that was a Crime, he maintained *Troilus* to be the more guilty of the two, since he too well knew what *Olympius* was plotting, and yet never offered to oppose him, tho' far more capable than he of defeating his wicked Designs, and saving the Western Empire from Ruin. He ended his Speech with these Words: *Was I in a Condition to oppose a Man, who had all the Soldiery of Italy at his Beck? Did I make him Exarch? Am I responsible for his Conduct? But dispose of me as you please, and as soon as you please; for great will my Reward be in Heaven.*

Year of  
Christ 654.

Other Witnesses waited at the Door, and were ready to come in; but the Senate declaring, that the Charge was sufficiently proved, the Treasurer went out to make his Report to the Emperor, and the Pope was carried, surrounded with Guards, and Crouds of Spectators, into one of the Courts of the Imperial Palace, to wait his Return. But he was soon removed from thence to an adjoining Terrace, and there held up by two of the Guards, that the Emperor might see him through the Lattices of his Window. In the mean time the Treasurer returned, and addressing the Pope, *Thou hast, said he, conspired against the Emperor; thou hast abandoned God, and God has abandoned thee, and delivered thee up into our Hands.* He then ordered the Guards to strip him, and bid the People anathematize him in the mean time as a Rebel and Traitor. He was stript accordingly of all his Garments, nothing being left him but a Tunic to cover his Nakedness, and even that the Soldiery tore from Top to Bottom. But he was anathematized only by few, Compassion prevailing among the rest of the Multitude. In that Condition the Treasurer delivered him up to the Governor of *Constantinople*, with a Warrant to cut him, if he pleased, that Moment, in Pieces. The Governor had immediately an Iron Collar put about his Neck, and loading him with Chains, ordered him to be dragged through the City, the Executioner walking before him with a drawn Sword, to shew, according to the Custom of those Days, that he was sentenced to Death. We are told, that amidst these Sufferings, which one would think any Man with his Complaints must have sunk under, he ever appeared with a serene and chearful Countenance, without betraying the least Concern or Dejection, as if he had not felt what he suffered. When he had been thus shewn to the whole Town, he was carried to the *Prætorium*, and there thrown into a Dungeon among Murderers and

The Senate  
declares him  
guilty of the  
Charge.

He is usid  
with great  
Barbarity.

others

Year of  
Christ 664.

other notorious Criminals: But he had scarce been an Hour there, when he was carried away to another Prison, called the Prison of *Diomedes*, where he was dragged with such Violence up the Steps leading to the Door of his new Prison, that his Legs being all flayed and cut with the heavy Irons, the Steps were in several Places stained with his Blood. When he was thus spent and ready to expire, instead of affording him the least Comfort or Relief, they chained him to the Keeper of the Jail, as was then commonly practised with great Criminals the Day before their Execution, and placed him thus chained and loaded with Irons on a Bench in the open Air, exposed to a most cutting Wind, which happened to blow at that time. Their Design in treating him with so much Cruelty, was, without all doubt, to put an End to his Life without a public Execution, which it was apprehended would not at all be pleasing to the People; for they had now changed their Rage into Compassion. But the two Women, who kept the Keys of the Prison, were the only Persons, who had an Opportunity, and indeed the Courage to relieve him. These, upon the Jailor's being for some time called away, taking their Prisoner, while he lay quite senseless, and ready to expire with the excessive Cold, and the Pain of his Wounds, carried him to their own Room, and placing him in their Bed, spared nothing they could think of to comfort and relieve him. However he continued speechless till the Evening, when the Eunuch *Gregory*, the Emperor's Chamberlain, sent him some Provisions by his Steward, who got his Irons taken off.

*The Patri-  
arch prevails  
on the Em-  
peror to spare  
his Life.*

The next Day the Emperor went to visit the Patriarch *Paul*, who lay at the Point of Death, and having, on that Occasion, acquainted him with what had passed, the Patriarch earnestly intreated him to spare the Life of that unhappy Man, and to be satisfy'd with what he had suffered already. The Author of the present Relation adds, that the Patriarch, hearing what Treatment the Pope had met with, cried out, *Is it meet that a Bishop should be thus treated? Alas! of that too I must soon give an Account.* But surely the Patriarch could not think it a Crime to have suggested to the Emperor the most effectual Means he could think of to maintain the Peace of the Church; nor could he think himself accountable for the Disobedience of the Pope to the Emperor's express Command; and it was to his Disobedience alone all his Sufferings were owing. However that be, the Emperor, to gratify the dying Patriarch, promised to spare the Pope's Life.

*Paul*

*Paul* died a few Days after, and *Pyrrhus* striving to be restored, but some opposing him on account of his having retracted at *Rome* the Doctrine, which he had professed at *Constantinople* <sup>b</sup>, the Emperor sent one of the Treasurer's Officers named *Demoſthenes*, with a Notary to interrogate the Pope, and have from his Mouth an authentic Account of what had passed on that Occasion at *Rome*. The Pope answered their several Interrogatories, solemnly declaring, that *Pyrrhus* came to *Rome* of his own Accord; that of his own Accord he renounced his former Opinion (for his Friends gave out, that he had done it by Force, and had even been tortured); that he was received by his Predecessor *Theodore*, and entertained as a Bishop, adding, that the *Roman Church* received all, who came; that *St. Peter* supply'd even the poorest among them with white Bread and different Sorts of Wines. In the End *Demoſthenes* begged he would compare his present with his former Condition, and reflect that so great a Change, and all his Misfortunes, were owing to himself. The Pope answered, *I am in your Power, and you may dispose of me as you please; but were I to be cut in Pieces, pursuant to the Order, that was given to the Governor of the City when I was delivered up to him, I would not communicate with the Church of Constantinople.* The Pope's Answers were all set down by the Notary, and shewn to the Emperor, who nevertheless restored *Pyrrhus* upon his promising to comply with the Type. For *Constans* did not concern himself about any Man's private Opinion, whether he held the Doctrine of one Will, or the Doctrine of two; nor did he himself ever declare for either Opinion, or quarrel with any but such as by an open Disobedience to his declared Will and express Command, chose to quarrel with their Brethren, and by indulging their peevish Humour, disturb the Peace both of the Church and the State. And it is on that Account alone, that he was stigmatized by the Popes, and those of that Party, with the Names of Heretic, Persecutor, and Tyrant, as if it had been Heresy, Persecution, and Tyranny, to restrain them from venting their Spleen on all, who did not agree in Opinion with them.

When the Pope had been kept eighty-five Days in the same Prison (the Prison of *Diomedes*), a Notary, named *Sagoleva*, came to acquaint him, that he was ordered to take him from thence to his House, and

Year of  
Christ 654.

The Pope is  
interrogated  
concerning  
the Abjura-  
tion of  
Pyrrhus at  
Rome.

Who is re-  
stored to the  
See of Con-  
stantinople.

The Pope ba-  
nished to the  
Sarmatian  
Chersones-  
sus.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 38, 39.

Year of  
Christ 655.

that in two Days time he was to be convey'd to another Place. The Pope asked to what Place, and seemed very desirous to know; but the Notary only answered, To the Place, which the Treasurer shall think fit to send you to. Hereupon the Pope, submitting chearfully to his Fate, took immediately Leave of his Fellow-Prisoners; and as they all on that Occasion burst into Tears, he endeavoured to comfort them; saying, that they ought rather to rejoice than to weep, since all his Sufferings would soon be rewarded. The Notary took him with him to his House, and two Days after, that is, on *Maundy-Thursday*, which, in the present Year 655. fell on the 26th Day of *March*, he was privately put on board a Vessel to be convey'd to the *Sarmatian Chersonesus*. Thus far the Account, that was given to the Western Bishops, by an anonymous Writer, under the Name of a good Christian c.

Hardships  
he suffered  
there.

What happened to him after his Departure from *Constantinople* we learn from two Letters, which he wrote from the Place of his Exile. In the first he writes thus to one of his Friends in *Constantinople*: “ We arrived at this Place on the 15th of *May*; and the “ Bearer, who delivered me a Letter, came in thirty Days after us. “ His Arrival gave me great Joy; for I did not doubt but he had “ brought me some Relief from my Friends in *Italy*; but was disappointed, and praised God. A grievous Famine prevails in this “ Land; and if we are not assisted and supported by our Friends with “ some kind of Provisions from *Pontus* or *Italy*, we must perish “ with Hunger. For we hear of Bread, but we see none. If any “ Corn, Wine, Oil, or any thing else is sent to you from those “ Parts for us, let it be immediately convey'd to us. I have not, I “ think, deserved so ill of the Saints at *Rome*, or of those, who belong to that Church, that with respect to me they should even forget the Command of our Lord. If St. *Peter* relieves and supports even such as are Strangers at *Rome*, are we to be neglected, “ who are his own Servants, tho' we have served him but a very short “ Time, in such an Exile, and such Tribulation? I have mentioned “ to you some particular Things, that are to be had there (that, is at “ *Constantinople*) and I intreat you to get them, and send them to me “ as soon as you possibly can; for I am in great Want, and labour “ under many Infirmities d.”

Is forgotten  
even by his  
own Church.

c Apud Bar. ad Ann. 651. p. 432, et seq.

d Martin Ep. 17. 1.

The other Letter he wrote in the Month of *September*, not many Days before his Death; and in that too he relates to his Friend, whom he does not name, lest he should ~~bring him into Trouble~~; the Hardships he endured; and complains of his being ~~invisibly~~ forgotten by his own Clergy; the Clergy of *Rome*: "We are separated," says he, from "the rest of the World, and deprived in a manner of Life itself. "The Natives here are all Pagans; and those, who come from other Parts and settle among them, adopt their Manners, are destitute of all Charity, and Strangers even to that Pity that is to be met with among the Barbarians. Nothing is brought to this Country but by the Vessels that come, and they come very seldom, to load Salt: "So that, to the present Month of *September*, I have found nothing "to buy but one Bushel of Wheat, and that I have bought at a most "exorbitant Price. I am amazed at the entire want of Compassion, "which all have betray'd, who were any-ways connected with me. "They have all so absolutely forsaken me, that they know not, nor "do they care to know, whether I am dead or still living. But I am "most of all surpris'd at the Behaviour of those, who belong to the "Church of the Apostle *St. Peter*, in not supplying one of their "own Body even with Necessaries of Life. If that Church has "neither Gold nor Silver, it wants not, God be thanked, Corn, "Wine, and other Provisions, of which they might have sent us, in "our present Distress, at least a small Portion to keep us from starving. "What Fear has seized on all Men, and made them neglect the Com- "mands of their Creator? Have I been an Enemy to that Church? Or "do they now look upon me as an Enemy? But may God, by the In- "tercession of *St. Peter*, keep them all steady in the Catholic Faith, "especially the Pastor, who governs them at present, that they may "receive with me the Reward, that is promised to those, who, in spite "of all Temptations, persevere to the last in the Orthodox Faith. As "for me, I am in the Hands of the Lord, who, I hope, is near at hand, "and will soon put an End to my Life and my Sufferings."

This Letter he wrote in the Month of *September*; and he died on *His Death*. the 16th of the same Month, worn out with Hardships, and abandoned by all. He was buried in a Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* at a small Distance from the City of *Chersonesus*, and is honoured by the Church of *Rome* on the 12th of *November* as a Martyr. But if it is not, as *St. Austin* well observed, what a Man suffers, but the Cause for which he suffers, that makes him a Martyr, *Martin*

Year of  
Christ 655.

*He suffer'd  
much, but not  
a Martyr.*

can have no Pretence to that Title. Few Martyrs indeed have suffered more than he, and none, to do him Justice, with more Patience and Fortitude. But it was not for the Faith that he suffered, nor in Defence of the Faith. It was for his Disobedience. I might call it Rebellion, in not only opposing the declared Will of the Emperor, but solemnly censuring his Command, the Command of his Lord and his Sovereign, as *wicked*, as *in every respect impious*, when he might have obey'd it without the least Prejudice to the Faith, and consequently ought to have obey'd it for the sake of the public Peace, which it was wisely calculated to establish. That he might have obey'd it without the least Prejudice to the Faith, is manifest; since nothing was contained in the Imperial Edict, repugnant, in the least, to the Catholic Faith; nay, all were thereby required to receive the Doctrine defined by the five General Councils; to believe that Christ was perfect God, and perfect Man, and that in him, as in one Person, were united the two distinct Natures, the Human and the Divine, in Opposition to the *Nestorians* acknowledging two Persons, and to the *Eutychians* owning but one Nature. As to the Silence enjoined by that Edict, it was the best Expedient, that could be thought of to put an End to the Dispute, since neither Party would yield to the other, and it was no more required of the one Party than of the other, but indifferently imposed upon both; nay, if the Emperor shewed any Partiality to either Party, it was to that of the Pope and the Western Bishops, who stiled themselves the Orthodox Party, that he shewed it. For to oblige them, and encourage them the more willingly to observe the Silence he enjoined, he revoked the Edict of his Predecessor *Heraclius*, establishing the Doctrine of one Will, and caused it at last to be taken down, as has been observed above, from the Gates of the great Church of the Imperial City. Thus did the Emperor strive, to the utmost of his Power, to restore the Peace of the Church. But his Measures were all defeated by the Pope, not only condemning, as Heretical, the Doctrine, concerning which the Emperor had enjoined a rigorous Silence, but the Edict itself, by which he had enjoined it, as wicked and impious. As it therefore was on that Score he suffered, and that Score alone, his Sufferings, however great, however patiently borne, can by no means intitle him to the Name or the Glory of a Martyr.

*Probably not  
guilty of  
Treason.*

As to the Treason, of which he was arraigned, he solemnly declared, on his Trial, that he never had encouraged *Olympius* in his treasonable

**Martin.**

**BISHOPS of Rome.**

67

treasonable Practices, and shewed that it was not in his Power to prevent them. Besides, the Witnesses who appeared against him, were Persons of no Reputation or Credit, and seemed all to have been suborned. But had he been condemned for what had any kind of relation to Religion, the Emperor would have been look'd upon, by those of his Party, that is, by all the Western Bishops, as a Tyrant and Persecutor. And it was, without all doubt, to prevent that, they chose to arraign him of Treason, and condemn him as a Traitor. In short, they charged him with a false Crime to punish him for a real one, or what they thought a real one.

Year of  
Christ 655.

*Martin* was certainly a Man of uncommon Parts, and undaunted Courage, of an enterprizing Genius, and a Temper to have carried the Papal Power to a greater Height than it had yet been carried by any of his Predecessors. But the first Step he took towards it proved fatal to him, and taught his Successors to be, for some time, more obedient to the Commands of their liege Lords, the Emperors. He is greatly extolled and commended by all the Writers of those Days, but above all by St. *Audoenus*, the famous Bishop of *Rouen*, who assures us (and he was a contemporary Writer, and a great lover of Truth, as *Baronius* observes<sup>e</sup>) that *Martin*, during his Imprisonment in the East, restored the Sight to a blind Person<sup>f</sup>. Of that Miracle indeed no Notice is taken by the anonymous Writer, who lived at *Constantinople*, and sent from thence a minute Account to the Western Bishops of all the Pope's Actions and Sufferings. But St. *Audoenus*, who was then at *Rouen*, might have been better informed than he; and *Baronius* seems not to doubt but he was. The Annalist adds, that Miracles are wrought to this Day at his Tomb in *Chersonesus*: I suppose by his Tombstone; for his Body is believed to be at *Rome*; having been translated, as we are told, from *Chersonesus* to *Constantinople*, and from thence to *Rome*; but when, by whom, or on what Occasion, nobody knows.

His Character.

<sup>e</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 654. p. 447.  
1 Decemb.

<sup>f</sup> Audoen. in vit. S. Eligii, c. 34. apud Sur



CONSTANS.  
CONSTANTINE PO-  
GONATUS.

EUGENIUS, ROTHARIS, } *Kings of the*  
 RODOALD, } *Lombards.*

*Seventy-fourth* BISHOP of Rome.

Eugenius  
*chosen.*  
Year of  
Christ 655.

**M***MARTIN* having been carried Prisoner to *Rome* in the manner we have seen, *Eugenius*, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of one *Rufinianus*, was chosen by the *Roman* People and Clergy to succeed him, when the See, says *Anastasius* 8, had been vacant one Year, two Months, and twenty Days. For when a Pope was deposed, whether he was justly deposed or unjustly, the Time, that passed between his Deposition, and the Election of another, was by the ancient Historians reckoned in the Vacancy of the See, and the time the deposed Pope lived after his Deposition, however long, was reckoned to his Successor. If the See remained vacant one Year, two Months, and twenty Days, *Eugenius* must have been ordained on the 8th of *September* 654. which in that Year fell on a *Sunday*. For it was on the 19th of *June* 653. that *Martin* was put on board a Vessel lying in the *Tyber*, and conveyed away from *Rome*, as appears from the Account of his Sufferings, where the anonymous Writer, mentioned above, has mark'd all the Dates with the greatest Exactness.

***The Roman Church how governed during a Vacancy.***

During the Time that passed between the Departure of *Martin* from *Rome* and the Election of *Engenius*, the *Roman* Church was governed, not by *Eugenius* in the Quality of his Vicar, as *Baronius* has dreamt, but by the Archpriest, the Archdeacon, and the Primicerius or Chief of the Notaries, as was customary in the Absence as well as on the Death of the Pope. The *Roman* People and Clergy chose a Successor to *Martin* in his Life-time; apprehending, as is supposed, that if they did not chuse a new Bishop in compliance with the Order of the Emperor, he would have imposed one upon them, and perhaps a *Monothelite*. Some, to save the Reputation of *Eugenius*, suppose *Martin* to have resigned, and consented to the Election of a Successor. But in the first Place it is a received Opinion among the *Roman* Catholic Divines, that the Pope, who has been chosen into his Office, not by Men, but by the Holy Ghost, has not a Power to resign it; and in the second Place it is manifest, beyond all Dispute,

8 Anast. in Eugen.

that

that *Martin* had not resigned it, at least, when *Eugenius* was chosen. For in the Letter, which he wrote from *Constantinople* to his Friend *Theodore*<sup>h</sup>, giving him an Account of the violent Proceedings of the Exarch at *Rome*, he tells him among other Things, that the Exarch produced an Order from the Emperor to the Presbyters and Deacons, commanding them to depose him, and chuse another in his room: *What has never yet been done, says he, and I hope never will; for when the Pontiff is absent, the Archpriest, the Archdeacon, and the Primicerius of the Notaries, supply his Place*. This Letter was written after the 17th of *September* 654. for on that Day *Martin* arrived at *Constantinople*, according to the Account of the anonymous Writer quoted above; and *Eugenius* was ordained in that Year on the 8th of the same Month; and consequently before *Martin* had resigned. Nay, his saying, that he hoped the *Roman* Clergy would never chuse another in his room (so long as he lived), is a plain Proof, that he neither intended to resign, nor thought himself lawfully deposed; and consequently, that *Eugenius* was, in his Opinion, an Intruder. However his being, after the Death of *Martin*, acknowledged by the *Roman* People and Clergy for their lawful Bishop, supply'd the room of a canonical Election; and he thereby became their lawful Bishop.

Year of  
Christ 655.

*Eugenius at first an Intruder, but afterwards lawful Pope.*

The Emperor, pleased with the Obedience of the *Romans* in chusing a new Pope in the room of *Martin*, pursuant to his Command, readily confirmed the Person, whom they had chosen; and *Eugenius* had no sooner taken Possession of the See, than he dispatched Legates to *Constantinople*, to acquaint the Emperor with his Ordination, and to deliver to him, at the same time, his Confession of Faith, there being now no kind of Communication or Intercourse between the two Bishops. The Legates were received by *Constans* with uncommon Marks of Respect and Esteem; whence some have taken it for granted, as his Letter has not reached our Times, that the new Pope received the Type. But such a Step had armed the whole West against him. For the Dispute was now become a Party-Affair, and the great Point was, whether the Bishop of *Rome*, and the other Western Bishops, should prevail; or the Bishop of *Constantinople*, with the three other Eastern Patriarchs, and the Bishops depending upon them. It is therefore more probable that *Eugenius* abstained from all mention of the Type, from all

*He probably neither received nor condemned the Type.*

<sup>h</sup> See above, p. 57.    <sup>i</sup> Mart. Ep. 15.

Year of  
Christ 655.

mention of one Will or two; for had he, in his Confession, condemned either that Edict, or the Doctrine of one Will, his Legates would not have met with so kind a Reception at the Imperial Court.

Agreement  
between the  
new Patri-  
arch, and the  
Pope's Le-  
gates.

At the time the Legates arrived, or soon after their Arrival at *Constantinople*, died the Patriarch *Pyrrhus*; and *Peter*, a no less zealous *Monothelite* than *Pyrrhus*, or any of his Predecessors, was chosen in his room. With him the Legates frequently conferred; and various Expedients were proposed to bring about a Reconciliation between *Constantinople* and *Rome*. But the Legates obstinately refusing to acknowledge one Will only, the Patriarch, to remove that Obstacle, suggested the acknowledging of one Will, and at the same time of two; declaring that, for the sake of the public Peace, he was ready to acknowledge two Wills besides one, on Condition they acknowledged one besides two, *unam super duas*. This the Legates thought a very reasonable Proposal, and they agreed to it accordingly, chusing rather to admit any Number of Wills, than seem to yield by admitting only one. The one Will, besides the two, they stiled, with the *Monothelites*, a *substantial* Will, and the two, with the Orthodox, *natural* Wills. The Meaning of these Terms neither Party seems to have well understood; nor will I take upon me to explain it. But both Parties were fully satisfy'd, the Legates with the Patriarch's admitting two *natural* Wills, and the Patriarch with their admitting one *substantial* Will, whatever those Terms imported, or were thought to import. Upon this Agreement the Legates assisted at Divine Service in the great Church, and publicly communicated with the Patriarch, and those of his Party\*. Soon after the Legates returned home; but as to the Reception they met with from *Eugenius*, on their Arrival at *Rome*,

The Pope un-  
willing to  
quarrel with  
the Emperor.

we are left quite in the Dark. Some are of Opinion, that the Pope, dreading the Fate of his Predecessor, had privately charged his Legates rather to agree with the *Monothelites*, than to quarrel with the Emperor. And truly that he was willing to keep fair with those of that Party, may, perhaps not improbably, be concluded from what we read in *Anastasius*; viz. that *Peter*, the new Bishop of *Constantinople*, having sent a Confession of Faith to the

\* Acta S. Maximi ap. Bar. ad Ann. 657. p. 469. et Ep. Anast. Monachi ap. Pagi ad Ann. 655. n. 4.

## Eugenius. BISHOPS of Rome.

71

Apostolic See, expressed in the most obscure, doubtful, and equivocal Terms, in which no mention at all was made of the Will and Operations in Christ, the *Roman* People and Clergy, highly provoked against the Patriarch, would not suffer the Pope to perform Divine Service in the Church of St. *Mary ad Præsepe*, now *Santa Maria Maggiore*, till he had assured them, that he would not receive it<sup>1</sup>. I cannot persuade myself, that the *Roman* People and Clergy would have presumed to use such Violence with the Pope, had they not thought him inclined to receive that Confession, and suspected that he would receive it.

Year of  
Christ 655.

Of this Pope no farther mention is made till his Death, which must have happened on the first of *June 657*. if what *Anastasius* writes be true; viz. that he held the See two Years, eight Months, and twenty-four Days<sup>m</sup>. He is commended by *Platina* for his wondrous Piety, Religion, Mildness, Affability, Generosity<sup>n</sup>. But notwithstanding his wondrous Generosity, he suffered the unhappy *Martin* to die for want of Necessaries, without once offering to afford him the least Relief. We have not a single Letter written by this Pope, nor ascribed to him.

Eugenius  
dies.  
Year of  
Christ 657.

In the Pontificate of *Eugenius* died *Rotharis*, the seventh King of the *Lombards*, and their first Lawgiver: For till his Reign the *Lombards* had governed themselves only by their antient Customs. But *Rotharis* having summoned, in the Year 644, a general Diet at *Pavia*, enacted, with the Consent and Approbation of his Nobles, 386 Laws, which he caused to be inserted in an Edict, and published in all the Provinces under his Dominion, commanding all Differences, that should arise after the Publication of that Edict, to be determined by the Laws comprised in it. Thus a new Body of Laws appeared, called the *Longobard* Laws; and they prevailed in all the Provinces of *Italy*, except the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, the Dukedom of *Rome*, and the small Dukedoms of *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Amalfi*, which continued subject to the Emperors. *Rotharis* was as a great a Warrior as a Lawgiver; for he took from the *Romans* the Provinces of *Umbria* and *Venetia*, reduced the *Alpes Cottiae*, and engaging the Exarch *Isaicius* killed eight thousand of his Men on the Spot; and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate and disorderly Flight. He professed

Rotharis the  
first Law-  
giver of the  
Lombards.

And a great  
Warrior.

<sup>1</sup> Anast. in Eugen.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Platina in Eugen.

Year of  
Christ 657.

Lombard  
Kings, Suc-  
cessors of Ro-  
tharis.

the Doctrine of *Arius*, but allowed his Subjects full Liberty to embrace which of the two Religions they liked best; and therefore took care, that in most of the Cities subject to him, there should be two Bishops, the one Catholic, and the other *Arian*. *Rotkaris* was succeeded by his Son *Rodoald*, who was murdered, in the first Year of his Reign, by a *Lombard*, whose Wife he had debauched. As he left no Children behind him, the *Lombards* chose *Aribert* in his room, the Nephew of their famous Queen *Theudelinda*. *Aribert* died in the ninth Year of his Reign; and having two Sons, *Godebert* and *Bertharith*, whom he equally loved, he very imprudently divided the Kingdom between them. *Bertharith* chose *Milan* for the Place of his Residence, and *Godebert* *Ticinium* or *Pavia*. But the latter, not satisfy'd with a Part, resolv'd to make himself Master of the whole Kingdom. That Resolution he privately imparted to *Grimoald*, Duke of *Benevento*, by far the most powerful of all the *Lombard* Dukes, inviting him to assist him in the Undertaking; and promising to give him his Sister in Marriage, if he succeeded. But *Garibald*, Duke of *Turin*, whom he employ'd, on that Occasion, as his Ambassador at the Court of *Grimoald*, instead of persuading that Prince to assist his Master, agreeably to his Instructions, advis'd him to lay hold of the present Opportunity, and to decide the Dispute between the two Brothers, by driving them both out, and seizing on the Kingdom for himself. *Grimoald* readily hearkened to his Advice, and having killed *Godebert*, and oblig'd *Bertharith* to abandon his Kingdom, and take Refuge among the *Avars*, he was in the Year 662. proclaimed King, with the general Consent of the Nation, the *Lombards* apprehending, that the Disagreement between the two Brothers would, in the End, have proved fatal both to them and the Kingdom. *Grimoald*, now lawful King, sent back the Army, which he had brought with him from *Benevento*, chusing entirely to rely on his own Conduct, and the Affections of his Subjects. Of this Revolution the Reader will find a particular and distinct Account in *Paulus Diaconus* p.

\* Paul. Diac. l. 4. c. 44. Sigon. de Regn. Italix, l. II. ad Ann. 643. P Paul. Diac. l. 4. c. ultim. et l. 5. c. 2. et seq.

CONSTANS,  
CONSTANTINE PO-  
GONATUS.

VITALIANUS,

RODOALD,  
ARIBERT,  
GODEBERT,  
BERTARITH,  
GRIMOALD,

} Kings of  
the Lom-  
bards.

*Seventy-fifth* BISHOP of Rome.

IN the room of *Eugenius* was chosen and ordained, after a Va-  
cancy of one Month, and twenty-nine Days, *Vitalianus*, the <sup>chosen.</sup>  
Son of *Anastasius*, and a Native of *Segnia*, now *Segni*, in the <sup>Year of</sup>  
Country of the *Hernici* p. The Shortness of the Vacancy plainly <sup>Christ 657.</sup>  
shews, that the Election of the new Pope was confirmed by the  
Exarch; for that Power had been granted to the Exarchs, as I ob-  
served above. *Vitalianus* was no sooner ordained, than he sent <sup>Sends Le-</sup>  
Legates, according to Custom, to *Constantinople*, with his Confes- <sup>gates into the</sup>  
sion of Faith, to be presented by them, says *Anastasius*, to the <sup>East.</sup>  
most pious Princes, meaning *Constans* and his Son *Constantine*, whom  
*Constans* had distinguished with the Title of *Augustus*, and taken for  
his Partner in the Empire ever since the Year 654. *Constans* not only  
received the Legates with uncommon Marks of Kindness, but sent  
by them, on their Return to *Rome*, the Book of the Gospels covered  
with Gold, and enriched with precious Stones of extraordinary Size,  
as a Present to St. *Peter* q. As the Present was accepted, *Baro-* <sup>The Empe-</sup>  
*nius* gravely concludes from thence, that *Constans* had abjured his <sup>ror's Present</sup>  
Heresy, the Doctrine of one Will, and made a public Profession of <sup>to St. Peter.</sup>  
the Catholic Faith, the Doctrine of two Wills; else the Pope, says  
he, would never have accepted his Present, the *Roman* Church  
having always abhorred and rejected the Oblations of Heretics, as  
abominable Things in the Eyes of God r. But did not the *Roman*  
Church receive of *Theodoric*, the *Arian* King of the *Goths*, two  
Silver Candlesticks weighing seventy Pounds, presented by that Prince  
to St. *Peter* s? This the Annalist, it seems, did not remember,  
tho' related by himself t; else he might have used the same Distinction  
on Occasion of the Present of *Constans*, which he had used on Oc-  
casion of the Present of *Theodoric*; viz. that it was accepted in-  
deed, tho' given by an Heretic, but accepted only as a Gift, not as  
an Oblation, the *Roman* Church abhorring the Oblations of Here-

p Anast. in Vitalian.  
Vol. II. p. 311.

q Idem ibid.  
t Bar. ad Ann. 523.

r Bar. ad Ann. 655. p. 450.

s See

Year of  
Christ 657.

Vitalianus  
avoids dis-  
obliging the  
Emperor.

retics, tho' very well pleased with their Gifts. I might add, that *Constans* never openly professed either the Doctrine of one Will, or the Doctrine of two; so that he was no professed Heretic, should we even allow the Doctrine of one Will to be an Heresy; and consequently there could be no room for an Abjuration. The Truth is, *Vitalianus* shewed himself, on all Occasions, extremely complaisant to the Emperor, reminding, and the Popes did not soon forget it, what his Predecessor had suffered for presuming to oppose him: And *Baronius*, that his Complaisance to a Tyrant, to an Heretic, to a Persecutor, to one who had so unjustly deposed, and so cruelly treated his holy Predecessor, might not be thought to have been owing to any Fear in him of the like Treatment, would make us believe, without the least Foundation in History, that *Constans* in Appearance renouncing his Heresy, pretended to be a good Catholic, and that it was on that Consideration the Pope behaved in so obliging a manner to a Prince whom he calls the most wicked of Men<sup>u</sup>.

Neither re-  
ceives nor con-  
demns the  
Type.

But to return to the Legates: As the Confession of Faith, which the Pope sent by them to the Emperor, has not reached our Times; some have concluded from the Reception they met with at *Constantinople*, that the new Pope received the Type, and promised to acquiesce in that Edict. But all, I think, that can be inferred from thence is, that he did not condemn it; for if he had, who can believe that *Constans* would have received his Legates in the Manner he did, *Constans*, who at this very Time was proceeding with the utmost Severity, or rather Cruelty against the Abbot *Maximus*, because he had persuaded the Western Bishops to condemn it (L)? It is therefore more likely, that *Vitalianus*, unwilling to disoblige the Emperor

<sup>u</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 655. p. 450. et ad Ann. 663. p. 486.

(L) *Maximus*, of whom I have spoken above (1), being charged with having persuaded the Western Bishops, especially Pope *Martin*, to reject and condemn the Type, was, by an Order from the Emperor, seized at *Rome*, about the same time that *Martin* was seized, and sent Prisoner to *Constantinople*, with his Disciple *Anastasius*, and another *Anastasius*, called the *Apocrisarius* of the Roman Church, because he had been formerly employed at

the Imperial Court in that Capacity. On their Arrival at *Constantinople*, they were all three treated, if possible, with more Cruelty than the Pope himself. But as they continued, in spite of the most cruel and inhuman Treatment they met with, to anathematize the Type, which the Judges said was anathematizing the Emperor, and refused to communicate with the Church of *Constantinople*, that received it, they were, in the End, sen-

(1) See above, p. 37.

tenced

Emperor by condemning the Type, or his Brethren in the West by receiving it, abstained from all Mention of that Edict, and likewise of the Point in Dispute; which in effect was complying with the Edict, and was probably looked upon by the Emperor in that Light.

By the same Legates *Vitalianus* wrote to *Peter*, the *Monothelite* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. But neither has his Letter, nor the Patriarch's Answer reached, or been suffered to reach our Times. In the Answer several Passages were alleged out of the Fathers to prove the Doctrine of one Will; but in the sixth General Council they were all found to have been strangely maimed and corrupted<sup>w</sup>. It began thus: *Your Letter, holy Brother, as you are of one Mind with us, has given us spiritual Joy*<sup>x</sup>. These Words would incline one to think, that *Vitalianus* agreed in Opinion with him, as *Honorius* had done with *Sergius*. But that the *Monothelites* did not look upon him as one of their Party, is manifest from their causing his Name to be struck out of the Diptychs, with the Names of all the other Popes, *Honorius* alone excepted, who had governed the *Roman Church* from the time the Question was first moved, to the Meeting of the sixth Council. Upon the Whole, *Vitalianus* seems to have behaved, in what concerns the present Dispute, with great Art and Address, to have taken care neither to disoblige his own Party, nor to provoke the other, and, in short, to have comply'd with the Type, without declaring either that he rejected or received it.

We hear no more of *Vitalianus* till the Year 663. when he received at *Rome* the Emperor *Constans*. For *Constans* leaving *Constantinople* in that Year, on what Account is not agreed among Authors (M), came unexpectedly into *Italy*. He landed at *Tarento*

Year of  
Christ 657.

His artful  
Conduct.

Constans  
comes into  
Italy, and  
falls on the  
Lombards.  
Year of  
Christ 663.

<sup>w</sup> Concil. 6. Act. 13.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid.

tenced to be publicly whipt, to have their Tongues plucked out by the Root, their right Hands cut off, to be led, in that Condition, through the twelve Districts of the Imperial City to teach all, who beheld them, the Obedience, that was due to the Commands of the Emperor, and finally to be sent into perpetual Banishment. While they were whipt, and they were whipt most barbarously, the public Criers stood by them, repeating aloud the fol-

lowing Words, *Thus all deserve to suffer, who obstinately refuse to obey the Royal Commands*. They were sent into different Exiles, the most inhospitable Places of the whole Empire; and there they died abandoned by all. The Death of *Maximus* is supposed to have happened in 660 (1).

(M) Some Writers tell us, that finding himself hated and despised by the *Byzantines*, either on account of his favouring the *Monothelites*, or for the Murder of his

(1) Vide Bar. tom. 8. p. 427—473.



Year of  
Christ 653.

His bad Suc-  
cess.

Goes to  
Rome.

with a considerable Body of Troops, and thence marched to *Naples*, where he was joined by all the Forces of that Dukedom. Being thus reinforced he broke unexpectedly, and without any Declaration of War, into the Territories of the *Lombards*, and took several Places, which they had abandoned, alarmed at the Approach of so great an Army commanded by the Emperor in Person. But what the Emperor had most at Heart was, the Reduction of *Benevento*, the Metropolis of that Dukedom, comprehending in those Days, almost the whole Country now called the Kingdom of *Naples*. He therefore pursued his March, without Loss of Time, to that City, and invested it with his whole Army. But meeting there with a most vigorous Resistance from Duke *Romoald*, the Son of *Grimoald*, King of the *Lombards*, and receiving Intelligence at the same time, that the King was advancing, at the Head of a powerful Army, to the Relief of his Son, he resolved to raise the Siege, and withdraw out of the Territories of the *Lombards*. He raised the Siege accordingly; but *Mitula*, Duke of *Capua*, meeting him before he got out of the Dominions of the *Lombards*, cut off great Numbers of his Men, and obliged the rest, together with the Emperor, to save themselves by a precipitate and disorderly Flight. Hereupon *Constans*, already sick of the War, instead of pursuing it, marched with Part of his Forces to *Rome*, being desirous of seeing that ancient Metropolis of the Empire and the World, while *Saburrus*, one of his Generals, lay encamped at the Pass of *Formia*, with 20,000

Brother *Theodosius*; to be revenged on them, he left *Constantinople* with a Design to transfer the Seat of the Empire to *Rome*, or to *Syracuse* (2). Others say, that having, out of Jealousy, caused his Brother, who was greatly beloved by the People, first to be ordained Deacon, and afterwards to be murdered; he was haunted Night and Day with his Apparition, imagining that he saw his Brother constantly standing before him, in the Habit of a Deacon, with a Cup of Blood in his Hand, inviting him with the Words, *Bibe frater*, to quench his inhuman Thirst; and that, terrify'd with this Imagination, he left *Constantinople*, where the Murder had been

committed, and repaired to *Italy*, hoping to divert his Mind with the Sight of new Objects from so tormenting a Thought (3). But the most credible Writers, and among the rest *Anastasius* and *Paulus Diaconus* (4), take it for granted, that he came into *Italy* upon no other Account, but to make War on the *Lombards*, and attempt, by putting himself at the Head of his Army, the Recovery of that Country. And indeed that he came upon no other Motive, and with no other Design, sufficiently appears from the great Number of Troops he brought with him from the East, and his falling on the *Lombards* as soon as he landed.

(2) Cedren. ad Ann. 18. Const. Constantin. Manasses, Zonaras. (3) Sigon. de Regn. Ital. ad Ann. 633: (4) Anast. in Vitalian. et Paul. Diac. l. 5. c. 4.

## Vitalianus. BISHOPS of Rome.

77

Men to cover his March. As he approached *Rome*, the Pope went out six Miles, with all his Clergy, to receive him, and attended him, during the whole time he staid in the City, as his Lord and his Master. We read of none of those extraordinary Honours paid to him, in return, by the Emperor, which his Successors have since required, and expect to this Day from the greatest Princes on the Earth. But *Vitalianus* did not, it seems, look upon himself as *King of Kings*, as *Prince of the World*, as *Monarch of the Earth*, as one *vested with all Power above all Powers*; and therefore neither required nor expected them. The Emperor arrived at *Rome* on *Wednesday* the 5th of *July* 663, and the same Day visited the Church of *St. Peter*, and there made his Offering. On the *Saturday* following he made his Offering in the Church of *St. Mary ad Præsepe*; and on *Sunday* he visited the Church of *St. Peter* a second time, but in Procession with all his Troops. He visited the Apostle the first time, as it were, incognito: But this was a public and solemn Visit; and therefore he was met and attended into the Church by the whole Clergy, and, no doubt, by the Pope among the rest, with lighted Torches in their Hands. On this Occasion he presented the Apostle with a Pall of Gold Tissue, and assisted at Divine Service. Having thus satisfy'd his Devotion, he spent the rest of the Week in plundering the City, and stripping it of all the valuable Monuments in Gold, Silver, Brass, and Marble, he could meet with, not even sparing the Churches, and other sacred Places. On *Saturday* he bathed and dined in the *Lateran* Palace; and having caused all the Plunder to be convey'd on board the Vessels that lay in the *Tyber*, in order to be transported into *Sicily*, he assisted again the next Day (*Sunday*) at Divine Service in the Church of *St. Peter*, took Leave of the Pope, and on *Monday* set out on his Return to *Naples*. From *Naples* he marched to *Rhegium*, where his Army was a third time defeated by the *Lombards*; I say a third time; for during his Stay at *Rome*, *Romoald*, Duke of *Benevento*, falling upon *Saburrus*, gave him a total Overthrow. From *Rhegium* he passed over to *Sicily*, glad to leave the brave *Lombards* in Possession of the Country, which they had acquired with the Sword, and were both determined and able, as he found by Experience, to defend with the Sword.

Year of  
Christ 663.

How received  
by the  
Pope.

How he pass-  
ed his time  
at Rome.

He plunders  
the City, and  
returns to  
Sicily.

<sup>1</sup> Paul. Diacon. l. 5. c. 6, 7, &c.  
3. 8. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Concil. Lateran. sub Leon. X. Sess.  
<sup>3</sup> Paul. Diacon. ubi supra. Anast. in Vitalian.

Year of  
Christ 663.

The Pope's  
complaisant  
Behaviour to  
the Emperor.

But to return to the Pope; he had, without all doubt, during the twelve Days the Emperor continued at *Rome*, many favourable Opportunities of recommending to him the distracted State of the Church, of remonstrating against the Type, which the preceding Popes, and all the Bishops in the West, had so loudly complained of, of reproving him for the Murder of his Brother *Theodosius*, an Ecclesiastic and a Deacon, and for his Cruelty to *Martin* and *Maximus*, the two great Champions of the Catholic Cause. Many such Opportunities he must certainly have had; and yet it does not appear, that he ever was prompted by his Zeal to avail himself of them: For if he had, the Bibliothecarian would not have failed, nor would the Annalist, to have acquainted us with it. If *Constans* was a Tyrant, an Heretic, a Persecutor, was it not the Duty of the Pope, of the first Bishop of the Catholic Church, of the Bishop of Bishops, to have rebuked him, at least in Season, in one of his Fits of Devotion, and endeavoured to retrieve him? A thing much to be wondered at, exclaims here Father *Pagi*, but certainly true! Three Popes successively, *Martin*, *Eugenius*, and *Vitalianus*, forbore excommunicating the Emperor *Constans*, tho' guilty of the most enormous Excesses against the Church; and the supreme Head of the Church, the high Pontiff<sup>b</sup>. That they did not excommunicate him is not at all to be wondered at, since the Popes in those Days had not yet taken upon them to excommunicate Princes. But that *Vitalianus*, knowing him to be guilty of such enormous Excesses, should have carried his Complaisance so far as not to take the least Notice of them; as not only to admit him into the Church, instead of shutting the Doors against him, as St. *Ambrose* did against *Theodosius*, but to accept his Oblations or Presents; nay, and to assist with him, tho' he thought him an Heretic, at Divine Service, which was communicating with him, was a Conduct, I will not say much to be wondered at, but highly to blame, and altogether unworthy of a Bishop. *We do greatly offend*, said Pope *Gregory* the First on a like Occasion, *if we are silent, and dissemble Things that ought to be corrected*<sup>c</sup>. But the whole Conduct of *Vitalianus* bespeaks him a Man of a most slavish Spirit, and of a Temper to flatter Men in Power rather than rebuke them. That *Constans* had abjured his Heresy before he came to *Rome*, as *Baronius* would make us believe, to excuse the Conduct of the Pope, is one of the Annalist's Dreams.

<sup>b</sup> Pagi in Annal. Bar. ad Ann. 663. 665. n. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Græg. Ep. l. 2. Ep. 37.

During the three following Years, either *Vitalianus* performed nothing worthy of Notice, or if he did, it has been passed over in Silence by the Writers of those Times. For of him no farther mention is made in History till the Year 667. when he received *Wighard*, the elect Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sent by *Oswy* and *Ecgbert*, the Kings of *Northumberland* and *Kent*, to receive his Ordination at *Rome*. For the famous Dispute between the Missionaries from *Rome*, and the *Scotch* Bishops and Clergy, concerning the time of keeping *Easter*, and the Ecclesiastical Tonsure (O), being at last determined

Year of  
Christ 667.  
Wighard  
sent to Rome  
to be ordained  
by the Pope.

(O) As no Time was fixed by the Apostles, or their immediate Successors, for the annual Celebration of the *Easter* Festival, it was kept, in the earliest Ages of the Church, at different Times by different Churches (1). Some observed it every Year on a fixed Day; others kept it, with the *Jews*, on the 14<sup>th</sup> Day of the Moon following the Vernal Equinox, on what Day soever of the Week it happened to fall; and some put it off till the following Sunday. The first Council of *Arles* in 314 decreed, That the Pasch of Resurrection (so called from the *Hebrew* Word *Pesach*, which signifies Passover) should be observed at one time, and on one and the same Day, throughout the World; and that Decree was confirmed by the Council of *Nice* in 325. But as the precise Time was not fixed by either Council, nor the Method of finding it prescribed, even those, who agreed in keeping that Festival on a Sunday, did not always agree in keeping it on the same Sunday. In the Year 387 it was kept by some Churches on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *March*, by others on the 18<sup>th</sup> of *April*, and by some on the 25<sup>th</sup> of *April* (2); and so it happened again in the Year 577 (3). In the Years 322, 349, 406, the *Easter* of the *Latins* was a whole Month earlier than that of the *Alexandrians* (4). This Disagreement was owing to the different Cycles, that obtained in the different Churches. The *Roman* Church followed the *Jewish* Cycle of 84 Years till the time of Pope *Leo the Great*, who in 455, changed it for that of *Alexandria* (5); as he did two Years after the *Alexandrian*

Cycle for that of *Victorius Aquitanus*, which was again changed, in 525, for the Cycle of *Dionysius Exiguus*, consisting of 19 Years. Thus did the *Roman* Church thrice change her Cycles, and with them the time of the Paschal Solemnity. To these Changes the *Scots*, the *Britons*, and the *Picts*, were utter Strangers, as they held but little Correspondence with *Rome*, and therefore adhered to the antient Cycle of 84 Years. This Difference in the Cycles produced a Difference among the *Saxon* Churches; the Northern *Saxons*, who had been converted by the *Scotch* Clergy, following the old Cycle; and those, who owed their Conversion to the *Roman* or *French* Missionaries, conforming to the more modern one. Thus in the Year 631 the Churches, founded by the *Scots*, kept *Easter* on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *April*; and those, that had been founded by the *Roman* and *French* Missionaries, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of *March* (6). At other times the *Scotch Easter* came first; for it sometimes happened in *Oswy's* Court, as *Bede* informs us (7), that while the King, who conformed to the Usages of the *Scots*, by whom the *Northumbrians* had been converted, was celebrating the Feast of *Easter*, the Queen, who had been brought up in *Kent*, where the *Roman* Usages obtained, was still keeping *Lent*. The *Roman* Missionaries pretended to derive their Practice from the Apostles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, tho' of so late a Date as the Year 525, and stigmatized with the Name of Schismatics all, who did not conform to it. The *Scots*, on the other hand, would not relinquish a Practice, which

(1) See Vol. 2. p. 37. (2) Ambros. Ep. 87. (3) Stillingf.'s Answer to Cressly, p. 323. (4) Bucher. Comment. in Hippolyt. Canon. Pasch. (5) Leo Ep. 95. (6) Usher Antiquit. Britan. Eccl. p. 482. (7) Bed. l. 3. c. 25.

Year of  
Christ 667.

mined in favour of the former, and *Deusdedit* of *Canterbury* dying soon after, the two Kings agreed to name him a Successor out of the *English* Clergy, and send him for his Ordination to *Rome*; that being ordained

had been observed by them ever since the Conversion of their Nation, and which they pretended to have been handed down to them by Tradition from the Apostles, *St. John* and *St. Philip*. And truly the Cycle of 84 Years, which the *Jews* had invented to settle the anniversary Returns of their Passover, continued, however faulty, to be used by the Christians for near 200 Years, as is agreed on all Hands; so that the *Britons* and the *Scots*, who still used the same Cycle, may be rather said to have agreed with the Apostles, even with *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, as to the time of keeping *Easter*, than the *Roman* Missionaries, or those who sent them; the Cycle, which at this time was in Use among them, having been invented, or at least adopted by their Church, 500 Years after the Apostles Times.

The Manner or Fashion of the Ecclesiastical Tonsure afforded Matter for as warm Disputes as the Time of celebrating the *Easter* Festival. The grand Question was, Whether the Hair of the Priests and Monks should be clipped or shaved on the Fore-part of the Head from Ear to Ear, in the Form of a Semicircle, or on the Top of the Head, in Form of a Circle, to imitate the Crown of Thorns, which our Saviour wore, and of which it was thought to be an Emblem. The *Scots* shaved the Fore-part of their Heads; and the Missionaries from *Rome* the Top, calling that the Tonsure of *St. Peter*, as if it had been derived from that Apostle. When, by whom, or on what Occasion, the Ecclesiastical Tonsure, that is, the clipping or shaving the Hair of the Ecclesiastics, was first introduced, is not well known. But certain it is, that in the time of *St. Jerom*, who flourished in the End of the fourth, and the Beginning of the fifth Century, a *Romish* Priest, with his shaven Crown, would have been taken for a Priest of *Isis* or *Serapis*; a shaven Crown being then, as that Father informs us (8), the Characteristic or Badge of those

Priests. As for the Christian Priests, they were neither to shave their Heads, as we learn of the same Father (9), lest they should look too like the Priests and Votaries of *Isis* and *Serapis*; nor to suffer their Hair to grow long, after the luxurious manner of the Barbarians and Soldiers, but to observe a decent Mean between the two Extremes; that is, as he explains it, to let their Hair grow long enough to cover their Skin. It was therefore probably the Custom to cut their Hair, to a moderate Degree, at their Ordination, not by way of a religious Mystery, but merely for the sake of Decency; and that nothing else was originally meant by the Ecclesiastical Tonsure. However that be, the cutting of the Hair was, in Process of Time, improved into a Mystery; and the Heathenish Ceremony of shaving the Head not only adopted by the Church, but look'd upon as important enough to divide it.

As the Peace of the *English* Church (yet in its Infancy) was greatly disturbed, and the propagating of the Gospel interrupted and checked by these unseasonable Disputes among the Ecclesiastics about Rites and Usages, while they all agreed in Faith and Religion, King *Osuy* undertook to reconcile the contending Parties; and with that Design convened a Synod in 664 at *Streanes-halch*, now *Whitby* in *Yorkshire*. In that Synod the Matters in Debate were not put to the Vote, as was usual in all other Synods; but the King, after hearing both Parties, declared for the *Romish*; taking it for granted, that their Customs were all derived from *St. Peter*, whom he said, he would by no means disoblige; lest he being disobliged, who had been trusted with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, agreeably to that of our Saviour, *To thee will I give*, &c. no other should be found, who would take upon him to open the Gates of Heaven, and let him in (1). The King had, without all doubt, been gained over before-hand to the Rites and Ceremonies brought by the Missionaries

(8) Hier. l. 13. in Ezek. c. xlv.

(9) Idem ibid.

(1) Bed. l. 3. c. 25.

ordained there, he might prove more active and zealous in promoting the Customs and Rites of that Church. Pursuant to that Resolution, *Wighard*, Presbyter of the Church of *Canterbury*, where the *Romish* Customs and Ceremonies obtained, was chosen, and sent to *Rome* with Letters from both Kings to the Pope, and a Present to St. *Peter*, consisting of several Vessels of Silver and Gold; but neither of those Letters has reached our Times. *Wighard* was received, as we may well imagine, by the Pope, with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem. But a violent Plague raging at that time in *Italy* (and it raged with no less Violence in *England*) (P), he died of it at *Rome* before he was ordained, and with him died almost his whole Retinue. The Person being dead, whom the two Kings had named, the Pope resolved to lay hold of so favourable an Opportunity, and name one to the See of *Canterbury* himself. At the same time therefore that he wrote to King *Oswy*, to acquaint him with the Death of *Wighard*, he took care to let him know, that as soon as he found a Person equal to so great a Charge, he would send him into *England*,

Year of  
Christ 667.

Dies at  
Rome.

The Pope's  
Letter to  
King *Oswy*  
on that Oc-  
casion.

ries from *Rome* and *France*, probably by *Eanfild* his Queen, or by his Son *Alcfrid*, King of *Deira*; for I cannot think, that the Motive, which he alleged for his Change, could have any-ways influenced him, or that he was serious, when he alleged it. However his Speech was received with great Applause by the Assembly, as *Bede* informs us (2); and it was concluded, that *Easter* should be thenceforth observed after the *Roman* manner. It is not to be doubted, but the Dispute about the Ecclesiastical Tonsure, and other Matters that were canvassed in the same Assembly, was likewise determined in favour of the Missionaries, tho' *Bede* has not told us, that it was. Thus were the *English* Churches, founded by the *Scots*, brought to submit to the Customs of *Rome*; which soon brought them, and it was what the Missionaries aimed at, to submit to the Authority of *Rome*; nay, their changing their own Rites and Ceremonies for those of that Church was, in itself, a tacit Acknowledgment of, and a virtual Submission to her Authority. And it was, without all doubt, on that Consideration, that *Colman*, the *Scotch* Bishop of the *Northumbrians*,

chose rather to quit his Bishoprick, than to comply with the Decision of the Synod, or rather of the King. Besides, the Missionaries required a Conformity to the Usages of the *Roman* Church as absolutely necessary; and to require even the Priests and the Monks, to shave, not the Fore-part, but the Top of their Heads, upon that Principle, was sapping the very Foundations of the Power and Liberty, which all national Churches had ever enjoy'd of settling their own Discipline, and appointing such Rites, Ceremonies, and Forms of Worship, as they judged most decent and edifying. No wonder therefore, that *Colman* abandoned a Church, which he saw thus running headlong into Slavery, and withdrew to *Scotland*.

(P) It raged with such Violence in *England*, that the unhappy People, preferring a quick Death to the insufferable Torments of a tedious Illness, ran in Crouds to the Cliffs on the Shore, and thence threw themselves headlong into the Sea (1). It swept off great Numbers of the Inhabitants, and among the rest *Suidhelm*, King of the *East-Saxons* (2).

(2) Idem ibid. (1) Westmonasterien. ad Ann. 665. (2) Bed. l. 3. c. 30.

Year of  
Christ 667.

with proper Instructions to root up the Tares throughout the whole Island. By the Tares the Pope could only mean such Rites and Usages as differed from those of *Rome*; for at this time they all agreed in Doctrine and Faith. In the same Letter he commended and extolled the Zeal of the King for the true and Apostolic Faith; exhorted him to conform not only in the Celebration of *Easter*, but in every thing else, to the Rule of the holy Apostles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; and thanking him for the Present to St. *Peter*, he sent in return, to him, a choice Collection of Reliques, and to the Queen, whom he stiled his Spiritual Daughter, a Cross and a Golden Key, containing some of the Filings of the supposed Chains, with which the two Apostles were bound, when Prisoners in *Rome*<sup>d</sup> (Q).

The Pope lost no time, but made it his Study to find a proper Person to fill the vacant See of *Canterbury*. He first cast his Eyes on *Adrian*, Abbot of a Monastery in the Neighbourhood of *Naples*.

<sup>d</sup> Bed. l. 3. c. 29.

(Q) As St. *Peter* was thought to keep the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, it was a crafty Contrivance of the Popes, to have small Keys made of different Metals, some even of Gold, and to send them as Presents from St. *Peter*, to Persons, who had deserved well of the Apostolic See, or whom they wanted to oblige. Of these Keys *Gregory the Great* was of all Popes the most liberal. One he sent to King *Childebert*, the Son of *Brunichild*, assuring him, that if he wore it at his Neck, it would screen him from all Evils, *Quæ collo vestro suspensæ a malis vos omnibus tueantur* (1). Another he bestowed on *Columbus*, Bishop in the Province of *Numidia* (2). A third he gave to *Theodorus*, Physician to the the Emperor *Mauritius* (3); and a fourth of Gold, the most remarkable of all, to *Theotistes* and *Andrew*, the Governors of that Emperor's Children. For it had even wrought a Miracle, which he thus relates in the Letter he wrote to them when he sent it. "This Key, says he, was found by a *Lombard* in a City beyond the *Po*; who indeed made no Account of it, as the Key of St. *Peter*; but observing that it was of Gold, he took it up, and

"pulled out a Knife with a Design to cut  
"it. But he was that Moment possessed  
"with an evil Spirit, and he stuck the Knife  
"in his own Throat, and died on the Spot.  
"At this Spectacle King *Autharis*, who  
"was present, and the *Lombards*, who at-  
"tended him, were struck with such Dread  
"and Terror, that not one of them had  
"the Courage to take up the Key, or so  
"much as to touch it. A *Lombard* there-  
"fore, named *Minulphus*, who professed  
"the Catholic Faith, was sent for; and he  
"took it up without the least Fear or Ap-  
"prehension. King *Autharis*, surprized  
"at the Event, caused another Golden  
"Key to be made, and sent both to my  
"Predecessor, viz. *Pelagius II.* with an  
"Account of the Miracle. That very  
"Key, continues *Gregory*, the Key by  
"which God was pleased to destroy an  
"haughty and perfidious Man, I send to  
"your Excellency, that you, who love  
"and fear him, may by it (remarkable  
"Words!) attain your eternal Salvati-  
"on (4)." The unhappy *Lombard* had  
perhaps his Throat cut by some zealous  
Catholic for the Affront which he offered  
to St. *Peter* in his Key.

(1) Greg. l. 5. Ep. 6.

(2) Idem l. 2. Ep. 47.

(3) Idem l. 6. Ep. 25.

(4) Idem l. 6. Ep. 23.

But

But he, not thinking himself sufficiently qualify'd to discharge so great a Trust, recommended to the Pope, first a Monk named *Andrew*, and upon his excusing himself on account of his Infirmities, another Monk named *Theodore*, well known to *Adrian*, who made no Objection to the Episcopal Dignity, tho' he was then in the sixty-sixth Year of his Age, and the See, to which he was preferred, lay at so great a Distance from *Rome*. He was a Man of uncommon Parts, good Morals, and great Learning, but a Native of *Greece*, born at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, which gave no small Umbrage to the Pope, apprehending that he might introduce into the *English* Church the Rites and Usages of the *Greeks*; and he would not ordain him, notwithstanding all his good Qualities, till *Adrian* promised to attend him into *England*, and there keep a watchful Eye over his Actions and Conduct. The Fears of the Pope, who reposed an intire Confidence in *Adrian*, being thus allay'd, *Theodore*, yet a Layman, was immediately ordained Subdeacon; but he was not consecrated Bishop till three Months after; tho' he was impatiently expected by the two Kings, and their People, and his Presence was necessary in *England*. What occasioned, in these Circumstances, so long a Delay, *Bede* gravely informs us. The new Archbishop had his Head shaved all over after the manner of the Eastern Monks, which was called the Tonsure of *St. Paul*; and the Pope waited till his Hair grew, that it might be shaved, at his Ordination, only on the Top of his Head, and in the Form of a Crown<sup>e</sup>. This was the Mode of the *Roman* Tonsure; and it was called the Tonsure of *St. Peter*. It seems quite incredible, and would not be credited, were it not well attested, that so great Strefs could ever have been laid on such Trifles. But insignificant Rites and Ceremonies were now become essential Parts of the Christian Religion.

Year of  
Christ 667.

The Monk  
Theodore  
chosen by the  
Pope in the  
room of  
Wighard.

His Ordina-  
tion delay'd,  
and why.

*Theodore* was ordained at last by the Pope on the 26th of *March* 668 (his Hair being by that time sufficiently grown); and from *Rome* he set out for *England* together with *Adrian* on the 27th of *May*. They went by Sea to *Marseilles*, and from thence by Land to *Arles* with Letters of Recommendation from the Pope to *John* Archbishop of that City. From *Arles* *Theodore* proceeded on his Journey, and arriving at *Paris*, passed the Winter there with *Agil-*

He sets out  
for England.  
668.

<sup>e</sup> Bed. l. 4. c. 1.



Year of  
Christ 668.

He arrives  
at Canter-  
bury.

Year of  
Christ 669.

His Zeal  
in promoting  
the Romish  
Ceremonies.

*bert* formerly Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, and now Bishop of *Paris*. During his Stay in that City, he was told by *Agilbert*, that Pope *Gregory* had granted to *Austin*, the first Bishop of *Canterbury*, an unlimited Jurisdiction over all the Churches of *Britain*, tho' *Austin* had never had an Opportunity of exercising it. Upon that Information *Theodore*, whose Idol was Power, as it afterwards too plainly appeared, wrote immediately to *Vitalianus*, and continued at *Paris* till he had obtained of him the same Jurisdiction, and by a general Grant every Privilege, Power, and Prerogative, that might by him be judged necessary to promote the Good of the Churches in *Britain* <sup>f</sup>. In the mean time *Ecgbert* King of *Kent*, being informed, that the new Archbishop of *Canterbury* was in *France*, dispatched immediately the Prefect *Redfrid* to attend him over into *England*; and he arrived at *Canterbury* on the 27th of *May* 669. As for *Adrian*, he was detained some time by *Ebroinus*, Mayor of the Palace to *Clotaire* III. upon a Suspicion, that he was charged with some private Embassy from the Emperor to the Kings of *England* against the Kingdom of *France*. But that Suspicion being found to be groundless, he was suffered to pursue his Journey to *England*; and on his Arrival at *Canterbury*, had the Monastery of *St. Peter* allotted him for his Habitation; the Pope having ordered *Theodore*, at his Departure from *Rome*, to provide him, and his Companions (no doubt a new Colony of Monks) with a convenient Habitation within his Diocese <sup>g</sup>. *Theodore* governed the Church of *Canterbury* twenty-one Years, and proved the greatest Prelate for Parts and Learning, as well as the most active and zealous *England* had yet seen in that Chair; active and zealous, not in preaching the Gospel, or causing it to be preached, tho' the whole Kingdom of the *South-Saxons* was yet unconverted (S); but in establishing what he seems to have had chiefly at Heart,

<sup>f</sup> Malmesbur. l. 1. de Pontif.

<sup>g</sup> Bed. l. 4. c. 1.

(S) The *South-Saxons*, inhabiting the present Counties of *Sussex* and *Surry*, were not converted till the Year 681, twelve Years after the Arrival of *Theodore* in *England*; and that they were converted even then was not owing to any Zeal in him, nor indeed in the Person, by whom they were converted, but to Chance, or to speak more properly, to a particular Providence of God. The first, who preached

the Gospel to that People, was *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *York*, whose Name is famous in the Annals of the *English* Church. But he preached to them, as *Jonah* preached to the *Ninevites*, against his Will; and when he had nothing less in his Thoughts than the preaching of the Gospel. He had been driven from his See by *Ecgbert*, King of *Northumberland*, whose high Displeasure he had incurred; and finding no-where else a safe

Heart, his own Authority in the Kingdoms already converted, and with it the pompous Rites and Ceremonies of *Rome*. And he succeeded in both; the *Romish* Rites and Modes of Worship were by his means universally received, and the Jurisdiction of the See of *Canterbury*, which till his time had been confined within the narrow Limits of the Kingdom of *Kent*, was, with the Concurrence of the *Saxon* Kings, especially of *Oswy*, extended over all *England*. He is therefore very justly said by *Bede* to have been the first Archbishop who was acknowledged as such by all the Churches in *England*<sup>b</sup>; and it is to his Ambition that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* owe the Power and Authority, which they enjoy to this Day. But of him I shall have Occasion to speak hereafter.

Year of  
Christ 669.

To return to *Vitalianus*; he had, the same Year 668, a favourable Opportunity of exerting the Power, which his Predecessors had usurped, of receiving Appeals from all Parts of the World, of reversing the Judgment of other Bishops, or Synods, and absolving those, whom they had condemned, or condemning those, whom they had absolved; and that Power he exerted accordingly, on the following Occasion. *John*, Bishop of *Lappa* in the Island of *Crete*, having been found guilty (we are not told of what Crime) and been thereupon condemned by *Paul* his Metropolitan, in a Synod con-

*John Bishop of Lappa appeals to the Pope from the Judgment of his Metropolitan.*

<sup>b</sup> Bed. l. 4. c. 2.

safe Retreat, the other Kings being unwilling to protect him against so powerful a Prince, he was forced to take Sanctuary in the Pagan Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*. There he was received with open Arms by *Ethelwalc*, King of that Country, overjoy'd, as he himself had embraced the Christian Religion some Years before, at the favourable Opportunity that offered of having the same Faith preached to his People. That *Wilfrid* undertook, having then no Hopes of being restored to his See, and was attended in the Undertaking with all the Success he could have wished. The *South Saxons* readily embraced the Christian Religion, and at the Persuasion of *Wilfrid*, an Episcopal See was founded by the King at *Seolby* in *Suffex*, the Capital of the Kingdom; and of that See *Wilfrid* was the first Bishop. The See was afterwards, about the Year 1070, removed to *Chichester*;

and hence *Wilfrid* is reckoned the first in the Succession of the Bishops of that City. Thus were the *South Saxons* converted at last, eighty-four Years after the Arrival of *Austin* in *England* (1); and I do not find, that their Conversion had, till that Time, been ever attempted, tho' their Country bordered on the Kingdom of *Kent*, which swarmed with Missionaries and Monks from *Rome*. As for *Theodore*, and *Adrian*, and the Monks who came over with them, they were so much taken up in converting to the Rites and Ceremonies of *Rome* those, who were already converted to the Faith, in causing *Easter* to be every-where kept at the time, which it was kept at in *Rome*, in persuading the Priests and Monks to shave the Top, and not the Fore-part of their Heads, &c. that they had not time to think of any other Conversion.

(1) Bed. l. 4. c. 13. Eddius vit. Wilfrid. c. 40. xv. Script. p. 72.

Year of  
Christ 669.

He is ab-  
solved by the  
Pope.

Who writes  
four Letters  
on this Occa-  
sion.

sisting of all the Bishops of that Island, instead of acquiescing in their Sentence, appealed from them to the Pope. This the Metropolitan highly resented; and far from paying any kind of Regard to the Appeal, he ordered the Appellant to be conveyed to the public Jail, and to be kept there till he owned himself justly condemned. But he found means to make his Escape, got safe to *Rome*, and there presented a Memorial to the Pope, complaining of the Injustice that he said had been done him, and earnestly intreating his Holiness to re-examine his Cause, and absolve or condemn him according to the Canons. The Pope readily hearkened to his Request, as we may well imagine, and having procured a Copy of the Acts of the Council of *Crete*, and caused them to be read and examined in a Council assembled for that Purpose at *Rome*, they were, by all the Bishops, who composed that Assembly, declared illegal, the former Sentence was reversed, and the Bishop of *Lappa* absolved as having been unlawfully judged and unjustly condemned. Few, if any, who appealed to *Rome*, were there found guilty; the Merit of appealing, covering, it seems, in the Eyes of the Pope the Multitude of Sins; for no Man can think that all, who appealed to *Rome*, were innocent, and had been elsewhere unjustly condemned. On that Occasion the Pope wrote four Letters; viz. two to *Paul* Primate of *Crete*, to acquaint him with the Judgment of the Council of *Rome*, to reprimand him, which he does very sharply, for not suspending, *as was required by the Canons*, all farther Proceedings against the accused Bishop, when he had once appealed to the Apostolic Sec, and to command him, by the Authority of that Sec, to restore his beloved Brother, and make good the Damages, which he, or his Church, might have suffered by the unjust Persecution. In one of these Letters he complains to *Paul* of a Deacon, who had married after his Ordination, and served two Churches, and requires him to prevent, by all means, for the future, such enormous Abuses. The other two Letters the Pope wrote to *George* Bishop of *Syracuse*, where *Constans* still resided, and to *Vaanus*, Chamberlain and Chartulary to the Emperor, intreating them to use their Interest at Court in behalf of the Bishop of *Lappa*, irregularly condemned, and unjustly deposed<sup>k</sup>. The Right of receiving Appeals the Popish Writers all pretend to be of Divine Institution; but that *Vitalianus* did not know, and therefore

<sup>i</sup> Epist. 1. et 2. Vital. Tom. 6. Concil. p. 445.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. 3. et 4. *ibid.*

resolved it, in his Letter to the Metropolitan of *Crete*, into the Canons of the Church; which *Baronius* did not think worthy of his Notice, tho' he has taken care to observe on this Occasion, with what Resolution and Vigour *Vitalianus* asserted the Authority of his See<sup>1</sup>. What was the Issue of that Affair, we are no-where told; but from the Conduct of *Paul* it is manifest, that he acknowledged no Power in the Pope of judging one, whom he had already judged, or restoring one, whom he had deposed.

It was not only in the East that the Authority of the Pope was still disputed. It was not yet universally acknowledged, and tamely submitted to, even in the West, no not in *Italy* itself, without the Limits of the Suburbicarian Provinces, the antient Limits of the Jurisdiction of the Bishops of *Rome*. The *Italian* Bishops indeed, generally speaking, patiently bore with the Usurpations and Incroachments of the Popes, sacrificing the Rights of their Sees to their own Quiet and Peace. But still we read of some, who had Courage and Resolution enough, especially when supported by the Civil Power, manfully to oppose the wild Pretensions of the Popes; and vigorously to assert, in spite of their Anathemas, the Liberty, with which Christ had made them free. One of these was *Maurus*, Bishop of *Ravenna*, who being summoned by *Vitalianus* to *Rome*; to give an Account there of his Faith and his Conduct, not only refused to obey the Summons, but let the Pope know, that as he had no kind of Authority over him, or his See, he could have no Right to issue such a Summons. This unexpected Answer provoked *Vitalianus* to such a Degree, that, transported with Rage at seeing his Authority questioned and despised even in *Italy*, he immediately thundered against *Maurus* the Sentence of Excommunication. But of his Excommunication *Maurus* made no more Account than he had made of his Summons; nay, thinking he had as good a Right to excommunicate the Pope, as the Pope had to excommunicate him, he retorted the Sentence, and excommunicated him in his turn. That raised the Rage, or, as *Baronius* will have it, the Zeal of the Pope beyond all Measure; and a Council being summoned without Delay, *Maurus* was, with the unanimous Consent of the Bishops who composed it, struck, as *Baronius* supposes, with Horror at an Attempt so daring, and su-

Year of  
Christ 669.

The Authority of the Pope still disputed in Italy itself.

Maurus of Milan, excommunicated by the Pope, excommunicates him in his turn.

<sup>1</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 667. p. 501.

Year of  
Christ 669.

His Name  
struck out of  
the Diptychs  
after his  
Death.

The Example  
of Maurus  
followed by  
his Successor.

Vitalianus  
dies.

Year of  
Christ 672.

perlatively wicked, degraded, stript of his Priesthood, and reduced to the State of a Layman. But the Bishop of *Ravenna* was supported by the Exarch; and therefore, being well satisfy'd that the Pope had no kind of Power over him or his Church, he continued to exercise, in Defiance of him, and his Council, all the Functions of his Office so long as he lived; and when reduced to the Point of Death, he recommended to his Clergy the Liberties of their Church, and charged them, with his last Breath, never to submit to the Authority of the Pope. This was setting a very bad Example, and to deter others from following it, Pope *Adeodatus*, in whose time *Maurus* died, ordered his Name to be struck out of the Diptychs. Had he promoted the Papal Usurpations with as much Zeal as he opposed them, it is not to be doubted, but his Name would have been thought worthy of a Place in the Calendar as well as in the Diptychs; and he would be now honoured as a Saint of the first Rate, as many others are, who had no other Merit but that of betraying their Trust, and sacrificing the just Rights and Liberties of their Churches to the Ambition of the Popes. *Maurus* was succeeded by *Reparatus*, who, in Compliance with the Injunctions, and last Will, as we may call it, of his Predecessor, not only refused to acknowledge the Authority of the Pope, but obtained, by the Interest he had at Court, an Imperial Rescript, exempting his See from all Subjection to that of *Rome*. But the Rescript was revoked twelve Years after by *Constantine Pogonatus*, the Son of *Constans*, at the Request of Pope *Leo II.* who on that Occasion issued a Constitution, forbidding the Anniversary of *Maurus*, which the Church of *Ravenna* observed out of Gratitude to the Memory of their Deliverer, to be thenceforth celebrated, or his Name to be mentioned at the Altar<sup>m</sup>.

Of *Vitalianus* we hear no more till the time of his Death; and he must have lived to the 27th of *January* 672. if what we read in *Anastasius*<sup>n</sup>, and all the Pontificals, be true, viz. that he presided in the *Roman* Church fourteen Years, and six Months: For he was ordained on the 30th of *July* 657. *Bollandus* seems to have entertained a mighty Opinion of this Pope; for he tells us, that had his Actions been all faithfully recorded, he would have made as great a Figure in History as the greatest of the Popes<sup>o</sup>. But who

<sup>n</sup> Hier. Rub. Hist. Raven. l. 4. Anast. in Leon. II. Vide Bar. ad Ann. 669. p. 505.

<sup>a</sup> Anast. in Vitalian.

<sup>o</sup> Bolland. ad diem 27 Jan.

can say, that his Actions have not all been faithfully recorded? What great Things are related of him, that can incline us to think, that greater Things have been omitted?

Year of  
Christ 672.

In the Year 668. the twelfth of *Vitalianus*, was murdered, in the Bath of *Daphne* at *Syracuse*, by one *Andrew*, the Emperor *Conslans*, after he had reigned twenty-seven Years. He scarce performed any thing, during his long Reign, worthy of Notice; but suffering himself to be diverted, by the unseasonable and impertinent Disputes among the Ecclesiastics, from providing, as he otherwise might, for the Safety of the Empire, he allowed the *Saracens* to pursue their Conquests and Ravages, almost without Interruption. For in his time they not only laid waste, with Fire and Sword, most of the Provinces of the Empire, carrying every-where off incredible Multitudes of Captives, but reduced all *Africa*, and making a Descent on the Island of *Cyprus* with 1700 Ships, made themselves Masters of the City of *Constantia*, and, with very little Difficulty, of the whole Island<sup>p</sup>. However, *Conslans* had once the Courage to face them, and commanding his Fleet in Person, engage them by Sea. But he was shamefully defeated, and his Ships were most of them taken or sunk; among the rest his own Ship was taken. But he had already quitted her and made his Escape, having changed Garb with one of his Men, whom the Barbarians mistook for the Emperor, and cut in Pieces<sup>q</sup>. Upon the Death of *Conslans* the Conspirators proclaimed one *Metius*, or *Mezentius*, by Birth an *Armenian*. But in the mean time *Constantine*, the deceased Emperor's Son, having with the utmost Expedition equipped a Fleet at *Constantinople*, sailed with it to *Sicily*, and having there defeated, taken, and put to Death the Usurper, and the rest of the Conspirators, he caused himself to be by all acknowledged for lawful Emperor, and returning to *Constantinople*, was there received with loud Acclamations by all Ranks of People (T)<sup>r</sup>.

The Emperor  
Conslans  
murdered.

In his Time  
the Saracens  
make great  
Conquests.

<sup>p</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. Incarnat. secund. Alexandrin. 639, 640. Elmakin. Hist. Saracen. ad Ann. Hegir. 27. <sup>q</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. 13. Const. <sup>r</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. Constan. 27. Paul. Diac. l. 5. prope fin.

(T) He must have continued some time named *Pogonatus* by the People of *Constantinople*, because at his Departure from the West, settling the Provinces, that were there still subject to the Empire; for thence, only a little Down appeared on his Chin, and he returned with a Beard. we are told by *Zonaras*, that he was sur-

Year of  
Christ 672.

CONSTANTINE  
POGONATUS.

ADEODATUS,

GRIMOALD,  
GARIBALD,  
BERTARITH, } Kings of the  
Lombards.

Seventy-sixth BISHOP of Rome.

Adeodatus  
chosen.

**VITALIANUS** was succeeded by *Adeodatus*, a Native of Rome, the Son of one *Jovinianus*, and a Monk of the Monastery of St. *Erasmus* on Mount *Cælius*. He was ordained after a Vacancy of two Months, and twenty-five Days<sup>s</sup>; and consequently on the 22d of *April* 672. The only Thing we read of him is, that he confirmed the Privilege, which *Chrotbert*, Bishop of *Tours*, had granted to the Monastery of St. *Martin*, situated in his Diocese, exempting that Monastery from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop: And some have even suspected the Authenticity of the Letter or Bull ascribed to *Adeodatus*, confirming that Privilege<sup>t</sup>; which has given Occasion to great Disputes<sup>u</sup>. The other Actions of this Pope, if he performed any worthy of Notice, and *Baronius* takes it for granted that he did; have been all buried in Oblivion. He died on the 26th of *June* 676. having governed the *Roman* Church four Years, two Months, and five Days<sup>w</sup>. The Bibliothecarian paints him as a Man of a mild Temper, of great Generosity, and universal Benevolence, being to all alike accessible, to the lowest as well as the highest, and ever ready, so far as it lay in his Power, to gratify all<sup>x</sup>. A most amiable Character; better than that of many Popes, who have made a great Noise in the World.

His Death.  
Year of  
Christ 676.

In his time  
the Lombards re-  
nounce the  
Doctrine of  
Arius.

In the Beginning of the Pontificate of *Adeodatus*, died King *Grimoald*, of whom I have spoken above. He had been let Blood in one of his Arms; and, as he was nine Days after, bending a Bow, the Vein opened, and all possible Means for closing it proving ineffectual, he bled to Death<sup>y</sup>. He had been brought up in the Principles of *Arius*; but he renounced them, being, as we are told, convinced of his Error by *John* Bishop of *Bergamo*, a Prelate of great Piety and Learning. The Example of *Grimoald* was followed by the Kings his Successors, who all professed the Catholic Religion; so that *Arius* was, in a short time, forsaken by the whole

<sup>s</sup> Anast. in Adeodat.

<sup>t</sup> Launoy in Assert. Inquist. in Privileg. Sanmedardense.

<sup>u</sup> Radulph. Mousnyer de Jur. Eccles. Sti. Mart. Turonens. Le Cointe Annal. Eccles. Francor. ad Ann. 676.

<sup>w</sup> Anast. in Adeodat.

<sup>x</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>y</sup> Paul. Diac.

l. 5. c. 33.

## Donus. BISHOPS of Rome.

92

Nation of the *Lombards*. As the Laws of King *Rotharis* were found to be in many Instances deficient, and some of them were thought too severe, *Grimoald*, in the sixth Year of his Reign, undertook the Correcting of the Edict, which that King had published twenty-four Years before; and in a general Diet held at *Pavia* in 668. with the Consent and Approbation of his Nobles, he repealed some Laws, enacted others in their room, and published a new Edict, which was received, not only by the *Lombards*, for whom it was made, but, in Process of Time, by the antient Inhabitants of *Italy*, tho' they had never been forbidden the Use of the *Roman* Laws<sup>2</sup>. *Grimoald* left behind him, besides *Romoald*, Duke of *Benevento*, another Son, named *Garibald*, to whom, tho' yet very young, he bequeathed the Kingdom of the *Lombards*. But he was deposed, after a short Reign of three Months, and *Bertarich* recalled and placed again on the Throne.

Year of  
Christ 676.

CONSTANTINE.

D O N U S,

BERTARICH  
King of the Lombards.

### Seventy-seventh BISHOP of Rome.

IN the room of *Adeodatus* was chosen and ordained, after a Vacancy of four Months, and five Days<sup>a</sup>, and consequently on the first of *November* 676. *Donus*, *Domnus*, or *Dominus*, the Son of *Mauritius*, and by Birth a *Roman*<sup>b</sup>. In the same Year, and about the same time, was raised to the See of *Constantinople* *Theodorus*, who professed the Doctrine of one Will, and therefore did not send his Confession of Faith to the new Pope, being well apprised, that it would not be received at *Rome*. However he wrote to *Donus*, as soon as he heard of his Promotion, an exhortatory Letter, earnestly intreating him to pity the distracted State of the Church, and to concur with him in such Measures, as might restore the Harmony, that had formerly reigned between the two Sees<sup>c</sup>. What Answer *Donus* returned to the Patriarch's Letter we know not. But if the Pope did not pity the distracted State

The Patriarch writes to him.

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. c. 12. Sigon. de Regn. Ital. l. 2. ad Ann. 668.    <sup>b</sup> Anast. in Dono.  
<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>c</sup> Concil. t. 6. p. 594.



Year of  
Christ 676.

The Emperor  
resolves to as-  
semble a Ge-  
neral Coun-  
cil.

Year of  
Christ 677.

of the Church, the Emperor did; and having, at this time, concluded a Peace with the *Saracens*, he resolved to leave nothing unattempted, that lay in his Power, to establish in the Church the Peace and Tracquility, that reigned in the State. With that View he first of all apply'd to the two Patriarchs, *Theodorus* of *Constantinople*, and *Macarius* of *Antioch*, to learn of them, what was the true Cause of the Divisions, that rent the Church in so miserable a manner? What the Subject, about which the holy Bishops disagreed and quarrell'd, cursing and excommunicating each other as Heretics, tho' they all professed to receive the five General Councils, to acquiesce in the Doctrine of the Fathers, and to abhor and anathematize all Heretics, and all Heresies? The Patriarchs answered, that some new Expressions had been introduced either out of Ignorance, or through a sinful Curiosity of searching into the unsearchable Things of God; and that it was about them they quarrell'd; some understanding them in one Sense, as they had never yet been thoroughly examined, and others in another. The Answer of the Patriarchs suggested to the Emperor the Thought of assembling a General Council, that the Subject of the Debate, whatever it was, being thoroughly examined by Men of both Parties, no room might be left for farther Disputes,

Imparts his  
Design to the  
Pope.

Year of  
Christ 678.

His Letter to  
Donus.

The Emperor had no sooner formed that Design, than impatient to have it put in Execution, he wrote to *Donus* to acquaint him with it, expressing in his Letter great Concern, *Dolorem ultra omnem dolorem*, at the Divisions, that reigned in the Church, and a most sincere and ardent Desire of seeing them healed. To attain so desirable an End, he lets the Pope know, that he has resolved to assemble a General Council; exhorts him to suffer the frivolous Disputes, that served only to render the Christian Religion contemptible in the Eyes of the Pagans, to be determined at last; and earnestly intreats him, as he tendered the Welfare of the Church, to lay aside all Malice, and all Guile, and Hypocrisies, and Envy; and concur with the two holy Patriarchs, *Theodorus* and *Macarius*; in inquiring impartially, and with Mildness and Modesty, after the Truth. In the same Letter he puts the Pope in mind of the Saying of our Saviour, *Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister*; and of that other, *By this shall all Men know, that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Love one to another*; being well apprised, that the present Disputes and Disagreement between  
the

the two Sees were chiefly owing to Pride, Jealousy, Desire of Victory, and want of Charity. He does not require the Pope to assist at the Council in Person, but to chuse some of the most eminent Men of his Church for Probity, Learning, and Modesty, Men above all well versed in the Sacred Sciences, and the Doctrine of the Fathers, and to send them, with the necessary Books, to supply his room. He thinks three Persons may be sufficient to represent the Pope, tho' he gives him Leave to send as many above that Number, as he shall judge proper and expedient; but desires that twelve Metropolitans may be sent to represent his Council. He assures the Pope, and assures him with an Oath, *per Deum omnipotentem*, that he is no ways, in the least, prejudiced for or against either Party; that he is determined to act, on all Occasions, with the strictest Impartiality; that those, who come from his Holiness, shall be well received, and treated, during their Stay at *Constantinople*, with the greatest Kindness and Respect; and that whether they agree with their Brethren in the East, or not, they shall be sent back safe and unhurt. He adds, that he has ordered *Theodorus*, Exarch of *Italy*, to supply those, who shall be sent by his Holiness or his Council, with Money, with Provisions, with Ships for their Passage, and, if they chose it, for their greater Safety, with Ships of War. In the End of his Letter he tells the Pope, that the two holy Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Antioch* had requested him, with great Earnestness, to suffer the Name of *Vitalianus* to be struck out of the Diptychs; but that he had withstood their Requests and Intreaties, being resolved to leave all Things in the State, which they at present were in, till the Points in Dispute were finally determined (U). The Emperor expresses, throughout the whole Letter, a most sincere and earnest Desire of seeing a lasting Peace established in the Church,

(U) *Peter* the *Monothelite* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, of whom I have spoken above, was succeeded by three Orthodox Patriarchs, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Constantine*; and the Name of *Vitalianus* had been, either by *John* or *Constantine*, who were both his Contemporaries, allowed a Place in the Diptychs. But as that Honour had been granted to no other Pope, since the Dispute commenced between the two Sees, except to *Honorius*, whom the *Monothelites* look'd upon as one of their Party, *Theodorus*, the Successor of *Con-*

*stantine*, and a zealous *Monothelite*, apply'd to the Emperor, jointly with *Maccarius* of *Antioch*, who held the same Doctrine, to have the Name of *Vitalianus* erased. *Constantine* did not for some time hearken to their Request; but finding they were backed by the whole Party, and apprehending he might be taxed with Partiality, if he continued deaf to their repeated Petitions, Solicitations, and Remonstrances, he thought it adviseable in the End to consent to, or connive at their striking out the Name of that Pope.

which

Year of  
Christ 678.

which he says has been committed *to his Care*; and often declares, that as he (not the Pope) has been chosen and appointed by God to maintain the Catholic Faith pure and undefiled, he will spare no Pains to discharge, as he ought, so great a Trust; but that he can only employ Exhortations, Intreaties, and Prayers, not being warranted to use any kind of Compulsion. The Letter was addressed *to Donus the most holy and blessed Archbishop of antient Rome, and Universal Pope*; and it ended thus, *May God preserve you many Years, most holy and blessed Father!* It is dated the 12th of *August* 678<sup>d</sup>. The Emperor was unwilling to quarrel with either Patriarch about their Titles; and therefore, in Compliance with their respective Claims, and to gratify the Pride and Vanity of both, he distinguished the Bishop of *Rome* with the Title of *Universal Pope*, and the Bishop of *Constantinople* with that of *Universal Patriarch*, as we shall soon see.

Donus dies  
before the  
Emperor's  
Letter  
reached  
Rome.

The Emperor's Letter had not reached *Rome* when *Donus* died; and his Death happened on the eleventh of *April* of the present Year, after he had sat in the Chair one Year, five Months, and ten Days<sup>e</sup>. All we know of him is, that he repaired and embellished several Churches, that he was very kind to his Clergy, and that having discovered in *Rome* a Monastery of *Syrian* Monks, who professed the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, he dispersed them, sending them into different Monasteries to be better instructed, and placed *Roman* Monks in their room<sup>f</sup>.

CONSTANTINE PO-  
GONATUS.

AGATHO,

BERTARITH, } Kings of the  
CUNIPERT, } Lombards.

Seventy-eighth BISHOP of Rome.

Agatho  
chosen.

**D**ONUS was succeeded by *Agatho*, a Native of *Sicily*, chosen and ordained two Months and fifteen Days after the Decease of his Predecessor<sup>g</sup>; that is, on the 27th of *June*, which, in the present Year 678. fell on a *Sunday*. He had no sooner taken Possession of the See, than the above-mentioned Letter from the Emperor

<sup>d</sup> Tom. 4. Concil. p. 594.  
<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Anast. in Dono.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid.

to *Donus* was delivered to him by the Secretary *Epiphanius*, who had been dispatched with it from *Constantinople*, and arrived at *Rome* during the Vacancy. *Agatho* expressed great Satisfaction at the good Disposition of the Emperor, commended his Zeal for the Peace and Unity of the Church, and in Compliance with his Command, requiring him to send Deputies to represent both him and his Council in the General Council to be held at *Constantinople*, he immediately summoned the Bishops of *Italy* to meet at *Rome* in order to chuse, together with him, such Persons as should be judged the best qualify'd, for their Probity and Learning, to discharge so great a Trust. As the Pope was well apprised, that the Bishops in the West all zealously professed and maintained the Doctrine of two Wills, he wrote a Circular Letter to the Primates and Metropolitans of most of the Western Provinces and Kingdoms, exhorting them to convene their respective Synods, to examine, with their Suffragans, the Doctrine in Dispute, and having established the Catholic Truth, as he did not doubt but they would, to transmit their Decrees to *Rome*, that the Legates, who were to assist at the General Council appointed to meet at *Constantinople*, might there represent not the *Italian* Bishops only, but all their Brethren in the West, and satisfy the Emperor, as well as the Fathers of the Council, that they all agreed in receiving the Doctrine of two Wills, and two Operations, as the only true Catholic and Apostolic Doctrine. In Compliance with this Request Provincial Synods were accordingly every-where convened, in *Spain*, in *Italy*, in *France*, in *England*, and the *Monothelites* every-where condemned, as maintaining a Doctrine condemned and anathematized by the Councils and the Fathers<sup>b</sup>. *Manfuetus* of *Milan*, not satisfy'd with condemning the Doctrine of one Will, and defining that of two, wrote a long Letter to the Emperor, wherein, after exhorting him to imitate the Zeal of *Constantine the Great*, and giving him a succinct Account of the Heresies condemned in the five first General Councils convened by the Authority of the Emperors his Predecessors, he declared, that he, and the Bishops assembled with him in the royal City of *Milan*, all inviolably adhered, and ever would inviolably adhere to the Doctrine taught and defined by those Councils, and that as they acknowledged, agreeably to them, two distinct Natures in Christ, they could not but acknowledge two distinct Wills, and two distinct Opera-

Year of  
Christ 678.

Receives the  
Emperor's  
Letter.

The Mono-  
thelites con-  
demned by all  
the Western  
Bishops.

<sup>b</sup> Concil. tom. 6. p. 630.

Year of  
Christ 678.

tions <sup>i</sup>. The Provincial Synods were all, except that under *Theodore* of *Canterbury*, of which I shall speak hereafter, held in the latter End of the present, or the Beginning of the following Year; and by some of them, namely by the Council of *Milan*, and that of *Arles*, Deputies were appointed to assist, in their Name, at the Council, which the Pope was to assemble at *Rome* <sup>k</sup>.

Wilfrid of  
York arrives  
at Rome.

While the Bishops, who had been summoned to that Council, were, pursuant to their Summons, assembling at *Rome*, *Wilfrid*, the famous Bishop of *York*, who had been deposed, and had thereupon appealed to the Pope, arrived in that City. He was deposed by *Theodore* of *Canterbury*, at the Request of *Ecgrid*, King of *Northumberland*, whose high Displeasure he had incurred. What provoked that Prince against him *Bede* has not thought fit to let us know, if he knew it himself. For he only says, that a Dispute arising between King *Ecgrid*, and the most reverend Bishop *Wilfrid*, that Prelate was driven from his See, and two new Bishops were appointed in

Is persecuted  
by the King  
of Northum-  
berland.

his room <sup>l</sup>. *Eddius*, who wrote the Life of *Wilfrid*, and was a Partaker with him in all his Sufferings, ascribes the Displeasure of the King against that Prelate to the wicked Suggestions of *Elmemberg*, whom *Ecgrid* had married upon his Queen's quitting him to retire into a Monastery, according to the prevailing Bigotry of that Age. For he tells us, that *Elmemberg*, coveting the immense Wealth, which *Wilfrid* was possessed of, left nothing unattempted to inflame the King against him, railing on all Occasions at his secular Pomp, his Riches, the Multitude of his Abbies, the Magnificence of his Houses, the innumerable Army of his Followers, clothed and armed as Princes; that having in the End filled the Mind of the King with the strongest Prejudices against him, she sent for *Theodore* of *Canterbury*, as *Balak* did for *Balaam*, and gained him with Presents to concur with her and the King in their wicked Measures, and depose the innocent Prelate, without hearing what he had to offer in his own Defence <sup>m</sup>. This Account redounds no-ways to the Honour of *Wilfrid*, tho' given by a most partial Writer, by one of his greatest Friends and Admirers. For from that very Account he appears to have been a Man of great Pride and Vanity, one who took delight in secular Pomp, Ostentation, and Grandeur. As for *Theo-*

What pro-  
voked the  
King against  
him.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 601. Bar. ad Ann. 679. p. 527.  
<sup>c</sup> 12.

<sup>k</sup> Concil. t. 6. p. 697.

<sup>l</sup> Bed. l. 4.

<sup>m</sup> Eddius in vit. Wilfrid. XV. Script. p. 63.

*dore*, he is painted there as a Man, who stuck at nothing to gratify his Avarice, and earn the Favour of the King. But after all, I cannot think that *Eddius* has pointed out the true Cause of *Ecgfrid's* Anger and Indignation against *Wilfrid*: For had the King been only offended at the Pomp and Grandeur, in which he lived, he would have been satisfy'd with causing him to be deposed, to be stript of all his Wealth, and driven from his See; whereas he continued to persecute him as implacably after his Deposition, as he had done before, as is related at Length, by the Author of his Life, and all the *English* Historians. As for the Lands and Revenues enjoy'd by the deposed Bishop, the King appropriated no Share of them to himself, but divided them between the two Bishops, who were appointed in his room, the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, hitherto but one Bishoprick, being on this Occasion divided into two, and soon after into three (W). *Thomas Eliensis*, in the Life of *Etheldreda*, *Ecgfrid's* Queen, ascribes the Anger of that Prince against *Wilfrid* to a very different Cause. According to him the Queen had resolved to live a Virgin even in Wedlock; and tho' the King left nothing unattempted to divert her from such a Resolution, urging his Right, the Injustice done him, and the Temptations, which he was thereby exposed to, he could not prevail on her to comply with her Duty. But *Wilfrid* had a great Ascendant over her; and to him the King apply'd, promising him, says *Bede*<sup>n</sup>, great Wealth, and large Possessions, provided he persuaded her to become a Wife. As Men were then very little acquainted, or rather utterly unacquainted, with the Doctrine of the Scripture, Virginity was generally looked upon, and preached up by the Monks and the Clergy as the highest Pitch of Perfection, which a Christian could arrive at, as a Virtue containing in itself all other Christian Virtues; and therefore *Wilfrid*, instead of putting the Queen in mind of her Duty, and of the express Command of the

Year of  
Christ 678.

<sup>n</sup> Bed. l. 4. c. 19.

(W) It was on this Occasion divided into the Bishopricks of *York*, and *Hagulfad*, now *Hexam* in *Northumberland*, but under the old Name of *Landisfarn*. Three Years after the Bishoprick of *Hagulfad* and *Landisfarn* was divided into two under the same Titles. *Bosa* was appointed Bishop of *York*, *Eata* of *Landisfarn*, and *Trumbert* of *Hagulfad* (1).

(1) Bede Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 12,

Year of  
Christ 678.

Apostle °, confirmed her, in Opposition to both, in the Resolution she had taken; nay, and advised her, that she might never be tempted to depart from it, to solicit a Divorce and Leave of the King to retire into a Monastery. As nothing else would satisfy her, and she continued importuning the King, without any regard to his Prayers, Intreaties, Remonstrances, and even to his Authority, he yielded, at last, much against his Will, says the Historian; and the Queen withdrew into a Monastery in *Scotland*, where she received the Veil at the Hands of *Wilfrid*. But the King loved her with the greatest Tenderness and Passion; and therefore soon repenting what he had done, undertook a Journey into *Scotland*, to try whether he could not still persuade her to return. But he found her unalterable; and his Passion for her being thereupon changed into Rage against *Wilfrid*, by whose Counsels she was governed, he caused him to be deposed, and banished him the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. Thus the Author of the Life of the famous Queen *Etheldreda*, now known by the Name of St. *Andre* P; and thus we may well account for the irreconcilable Hatred which the King ever after bore to *Wilfrid*; and of which that Prelate felt the Effects, and very deservedly, both at home and abroad. However he is now honoured as a Saint of the first Rate, and so is the Queen; the Queen for disobeying her Husband and her King; and *Wilfrid* for countenancing her in her sinful Disobedience.

*Wilfrid ap-  
peals to  
Rome.*

*Wilfrid* was too much attached to the Things of this World tamely to part with his Wealth and his Dignity; and therefore instead of acquiescing in the Sentence, that deprived him of both, as his Predecessor had done, tho' most unjustly deposed (X), he protested against it, and appealing to the Pope, immediately set out, full of Rage and Resentment against *Theodore*, on his Journey to *Rome*. No Man had deserved better of that See than *Wilfrid*. In the Council of

° 1 Corinth. c. vii. ver. 4, 5.  
p. 748.

P Vit. Ethelred. Aët. Benedict. Secul. secund.

(X) *Wilfrid* succeeded *Cæda* in the Bishoprick of *Northumberland*, who being told by *Theodore* wanting a Pretence to remove him that room might be made for *Wilfrid*, that he had not been canonically ordained, answered, that it was not by Choice, but merely in Obe-

dience to his Superiors, that he had taken upon him so great a Charge; and was therefore very ready to part with it and retire; which he did accordingly. But *Jaruman* of *Lichfield* dying soon after, he was translated to that See (1).

(1) Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 28. et l. 4. c. 3.

*Whitby,*

Agatho.

BISHOPS of Rome.

99

*Whitby*<sup>a</sup>, he had espoused the Cause of the *Roman* Missionaries against the *Scotch* Bishops and Clergy; had, in that Assembly, pleaded with great Zeal, and not without Learning, for the *Romish* Ceremonies; and, having had the good Luck to get them approved by the King of *Northumberland*, he had taken unwearied Pains to establish them in all the Churches of that Kingdom. These were extraordinary Merits in the Eyes of the Pope; and what was still more meritorious, *Wilfrid* was the first, who had ever appealed from *Britain* to *Rome*. No wonder therefore that he was received by *Agatho* with all possible Marks of Respect, Kindness, and Esteem, tho' the Monk *Coënwald*, and others, whom *Theodore* sent to accuse him, had arrived at *Rome* some Months before him, and, no doubt, had not been idle, but done all that lay in their Power to prejudice the Pope against him<sup>r</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 678.

Is well re-  
ceived by the  
Pope.

*Wilfrid* had not been long in *Rome*, when *Agatho*, at his Request, assembled a Council to re-examine his Cause, and confirm or reverse, as he should be found guilty or innocent, the Sentence of *Theodore*. This Council consisted of fifty Bishops: Many of them were come to *Rome* to assist at the Council, which the Pope had appointed to meet in order to chuse the Legates, who were to be sent into the East. Before them appeared *Wilfrid* on the one Side, and his Accusers on the other; and both being heard and examined, a Decree was issued, with one Accord, by the Council, declaring *Wilfrid* to have been unjustly deposed, and ordering him to be restored to his See. As *Wilfrid* had complained of the Division of his Diocese, it was likewise enacted; that if such a Division should be thought necessary, the new Bishops should not be appointed without his previous Consent and Approbation. By the same Decree the Laity as well as the Clergy were required to pay due Obedience to the Determination of the Council; the Clergy on pain of being deposed, and the Laity of being for ever excluded from the Eucharist<sup>s</sup>.

His Cause  
examined in  
a Council,  
and he de-  
clared inno-  
cent.

What Obedience was paid in *England* to that Decree we shall see the following Year, when *Wilfrid* returning home presented it to the King of *Northumberland*. But the Remainder of the present, and Part of the ensuing Year he passed at *Rome*, being desired by *Agatho* to put off his Journey, and assist, with the other Bishops, at the

He assists at  
a Council  
held at  
Rome.

Year of  
Christ 679.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 80. not. O.

<sup>r</sup> Eddius vit. *Wilfrid*. c. 51.

<sup>s</sup> Idem ibid. c. 32.



Year of  
Christ 679.

Council, that was to meet there in a few Months<sup>t</sup>. The Council met accordingly on the 5th of *April* 679, and consisted of one hundred and twenty-five Bishops, or their Deputies, all of *Italy*, except *Wilfrid* of *Tork*, *Felix* of *Arles*, *Adeodatus* of *Toul*, and the Deacon *Taurinus*, sent by the Bishop of *Toulon*. Of this Council nothing now remains but two Letters, the one from the Pope, the other from the Bishops of the Council to the Emperor *Constantine*, and his two Brothers *Heraclius* and *Tiberius*, whom their Father *Constans* had created *Cæsars* ever since the Year 659. and taken for his Partners in the Empire.

The Pope  
writes to the  
Emperor to  
excuse his  
Delay in  
sending pro-  
per Persons  
to assist at  
the General  
Council.

The Pope begins his Letter with commending the Zeal of the Emperors his most religious Lords in striving to maintain the Catholic Faith pure and undefiled, and their truly Christian Spirit in declaring against all Force and Compulsion, since it is not a forced, but a free and voluntary Confession of the true Faith, that is required of us by our Lord, agreeably to that of *St. Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles: *Feed the Flock of God which is among you; not by Constraint, but willingly*<sup>u</sup>. In the next Place, *Agatho* excuses his Delay in obeying the Commands of his most pious Sovereigns, and sending proper Persons to assist in his Name, and the Name of his Brethren, at the Council, which they had appointed to meet at *Constantinople*. That Delay he ascribes to his Infirmities, and his having long waited the Arrival of some, whom his Predecessors had sent to preach the Gospel in Countries lying at a great Distance from *Rome*; meaning, as appears from the Letter of the *Roman* Council, *Theodore* of *Canterbury*, and *Adrian*. For *Theodore* was the ablest Man, at this time, in all the West; the only Man, says *Baronius*<sup>w</sup>, of any Knowledge in this barbarous and ignorant Age; and the Pope, wanting his Assistance, besides the infallible and never-failing Assistance of the Holy Ghost, had invited him to *Rome*, nay, and in Expectation of his Arrival, had considerably delay'd the Assembling of the Council. But he, notwithstanding the Obligations he owed to the See of *Rome*, could not be prevailed upon to gratify the Pope, pretending, no doubt, that his Presence was more necessary in *England*. And this indeed was a critical Juncture. *Theodore* was in great Favour with the *Saxon* Kings, especially with the King of *Northumberland*, the

<sup>t</sup> Idem ibid. c. 31. et 50.  
p. 528.

<sup>u</sup> 2 Peter c. v. ver. 2.

<sup>w</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 679.

most powerful of them all, whom he had highly obliged by siding with him against *Wilfrid*; and he hoped by their means to establish, in a short time, the *Romish* Ceremonies, and with them the Authority of his See, in the different Kingdoms.

The Pope, having excused his Delay in executing the Commands of his Lords and Sovereigns, names and earnestly recommends to them the Persons, who are to represent him; and those, who are to represent his Council. He owns them to be Men of no great Learning, which, he says, cannot be well expected in Men, who live among the Barbarians, meaning the *Lombards*, and who, having been stripped by them of all their Substance, have no other Means of supporting themselves but by their daily Labour. What Poverty must the Churches of *Italy* have been reduced to, when even Bishops were obliged to earn a Livelihood, and with much ado, *cum summa hesitatione*, by daily Labour! The Pope adds, that tho' those, whom he sends, cannot be said to be Men of great Learning, they are not, however, quite unacquainted with the Doctrine of the Fathers, and the Definitions of the five General Councils. If so, I do not see what Occasion they could have for any other Learning, the Scripture being quite out of Date, and the Doctrine of the Councils and the Fathers the only true Standard of the Catholic Faith. The remaining Part of the Pope's Letter contains his Confession of Faith, wherein he acknowledges two distinct Wills in Christ, and two distinct Operations; a Confutation of the opposite Doctrine, and a long Descant in Praise of his See, and his Predecessors, none of whom, he says, have ever erred, have ever been tainted with any Heresy, but have, on the contrary, always confirmed their Brethren in the true Faith, agreeably to that of our Saviour to St. *Peter*, *I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith fail not*, &c\*. But the Fathers of the sixth General Council were not, as we shall soon see, of that Opinion.

The Letter from the Council to the Emperor contained a Confession of Faith, agreeing in every Article with the Confession of the Pope; and that Faith they declared themselves ready to defend even at the Expence of their Lives, the only thing, which the Barbarians, among whom they lived, had left them. They too ascribe their Delay in complying with the Desire of the Emperor, to

Year of  
Christ 679.

Recommends  
to the Empe-  
ror his De-  
puties, and  
those of his  
Council.

Letter from  
the Pope's  
Council to the  
Emperor.

\* Concil. t. 6. p. 630.

their

Year of  
Christ 679.

their having long waited the Arrival of some of their Brethren, especially of the Philosopher *Theodore*, Archbishop of the great Island of *Britain*, who, they had hoped, would have joined them, but were disappointed. They were as sensible as the Pope, that at this time they had no Men of Learning among them; and therefore recommended their Deputies to the Emperor as Men, who were to be more respected for their Probity, than their Secular Eloquence or Knowledge.

The Letter  
signed by  
Wilfrid.

This Letter was signed by all the Bishops, who were present, each of them signing it, and the Confession it contained, in his own Name, and in the Name of his City, or his Province. *Wilfrid*, among the rest, is said to have confessed the Catholic Faith, and to have confirmed it with his Subscription in the Name of the *English*, the *Britons*, the *Scots*, and the *Picts*, inhabiting the Islands of *Ireland* and *Britain*. For he had continued in *Rome* at the Request of the Pope, as has been observed above, till the Meeting of the Council, that he might there give an Account of the Faith of the Churches of *Britain*, with respect to the Point in Dispute; and their Faith appearing, by his Account, to be entirely orthodox, he was desired by the other Bishops to confess it, and sign that Confession in his own Name, and in the Name of the *Britons*, the *English*, the *Scots*, and the *Picts*.

But not as  
Legate of the  
Scotch Na-  
tion.

Hence *Schelstrate* concludes, and likewise *Baronius* and *Binius*, that the *British*, the *English*, the *Scotch*, and *Pictish* Bishops were all summoned by the Pope to his Council; and that, in Obedience to his Summons, they appointed, with one Consent, *Wilfrid*, who was already at *Rome*, to represent them, in that Assembly, as their common Legate. And this he uses as an Argument to prove, that the Bishops of *Britain* were all subject to the See of *Rome*, and that the Pope had a Right to summon them to his Councils. It is quite surprising that a Man of *Schelstrate's* Knowledge should have been so utterly unacquainted with the present State of the Churches of *Britain*. The *Britons*, the *Scots*, and the *Picts*, did not at this time communicate with *Rome*, much less did they acknowledge any Power or Authority in the Bishop of *Rome* over them, or their Churches; and therefore it cannot be supposed, that, had the Pope summoned them to his Council, they would have paid any Kind

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 636.

<sup>s</sup> Eddius Vit. Wilfrid. c. 50. et Bed. l. 5. c. 20.

<sup>a</sup> Schel-

strat. Antiquit. illustrat. Sect. 115. p. 104.

of Regard to his Summons. But had they even paid the greatest Regard to it, and in Compliance with it, thought themselves bound to appoint one to represent them in that Council, *Wilfrid* was of all Men the last, whom the *Scots*, at least, would have honoured with that Trust and Commission. He was, in Opposition to them, the great Champion of the *Romish* Party; had distinguished himself at the Council of *Whitby* by his Zeal for the *Romish* Ceremonies against *Colman* and the other *Scotch* Bishops; and upon *Colman's* chusing rather to quit his Bishoprick than to conform to those Ceremonies, he had been appointed Bishop of *Northumberland* in his room. The *Scots* therefore must have looked upon him as an open and avowed Enemy; and consequently cannot be said, without the greatest Absurdity, to have chosen and appointed him to represent them in the above-mentioned Council.

Year of  
Christ 679.

Of this *Baronius* seems to have been aware; and therefore sup-<sup>Nor of the  
English.</sup> poses *Wilfrid* to have assisted at the Pope's Council as the Legate of the *English* Church only, having been charged with that Commission by *Theodore*, and the other *English* Bishops in the Council, that was convened in *England* to condemn the *Monothelite* Heresy<sup>b</sup>. But in the first Place the Council, at which *Wilfrid* is said to have appeared as the Legate of the *English* Church, was held several Months before that, which was convened in *England* to condemn the *Monothelite* Heresy. The former Council was held, according to *Eddius*<sup>c</sup>, who was probably then at *Rome*, on the 5th of *April* 679. or 680. as *Baronius* will have it; and the later, according to *Bede*<sup>d</sup>, on the 17th of *September* 680. *Wilfrid* therefore could not, as is evident, assist at the *Roman* Council, as the Legate of the *English* Church, in virtue of any Delegation or Commission from the *English* Council. In the second Place *Theodore* and *Wilfrid* were, at this time, irreconcilable Enemies to each other. *Theodore* had sided with the King of *Northumberland*, against *Wilfrid*, and deposed him; and *Wilfrid* had thereupon appealed from his Sentence to the Apostolic See, and was gone to *Rome* to complain to the Pope of the Injustice, which he pretended to have been done him. And is it at all probable, that *Theodore* would, in these Circumstances, have honoured him with the Character of his Deputy, and Legate of the *English* Church? or that

<sup>b</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 680. p. 531.  
l. 4. c. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Eddius in Vit. Wilfrid. c. 50.

<sup>d</sup> Bed.

Year of  
Christ 679.

the *English* Bishops would have chosen one to represent them at the Pope's Council, whom they no longer looked upon as a Bishop? For *Wilfrid* was no less obnoxious to most of them than he was to *Theodore*, *digladiabili odio impetierunt Wilfridum*, says *Malmsbury*, speaking of some of them, probably on account of his Pride, and his haughty and over-bearing Conduct. As for what *Binius* writes in his Notes on the Council of *Hatfield*, of which I shall speak hereafter, viz. that *Theodore*, hearing *Wilfrid* had been absolved at *Rome*, was immediately reconciled with him, and in Token of an entire Reconciliation, honoured him with the Character and Title of Legate from the *English* Church<sup>f</sup>, it is scarce worthy of Notice, it being manifest from *Eddius*<sup>g</sup>, and indeed from all the *English* Historians, that *Theodore* and *Wilfrid* were not reconciled till several Years after, till the Year 686. according to the most probable Opinion<sup>h</sup>. From what has been said, it is manifest beyond Contradiction, that *Wilfrid* did not assist at the Pope's Council with the Character of Legate from any of the Churches of *Britain*, as *Baronius*, *Binius*, and *Schelfstrate*, would have it believed, and consequently, as no other did, that either the Bishops of *Britain* were not summoned by the Pope to his Council, or, if they were, that no kind of Regard was paid by them to that Summons; and either sufficiently proves, according to the Method of Arguing used by those Writers, that the Power of the Pope did not extend, at this time, to the Island of *Britain*.

The Decree  
of the Pope  
in favour of  
*Wilfrid*, how  
received in  
England

The Council no sooner broke up than *Wilfrid*, impatient to see himself restored to his Dignity, to his Wealth and his former Grandeur, set out in great Haste from *Rome* on his Return to *England*, and arriving in *Northumberland*, presented the Decree of the Pope and his Council to the King. *Ecgfrid* was no Enemy to *Rome*, but had, on the contrary, always countenanced the *Romish* Missionaries, and promoted with as much Zeal as his Father *Oswy*, their Rites and Ceremonies: *Wilfrid* therefore did not doubt but, out of Respect to the Pope, he would cause his Decree to be immediately put in Execution. But to the King it appeared so strange, that the Pope should have taken upon him to restore, by his Authority, one, whom he had caused to be deposed, and had driven from his See, that he could not believe the Decree to be genuine.

<sup>g</sup> Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. Angl. l. 3. p. 267. <sup>f</sup> Concil. t. 6. Ed. Lab. col. 579.  
<sup>h</sup> Eddius Vit. Wilfrid. c. 41. <sup>b</sup> See Pagi ad Ann. 686. n. 15.

However, not trusting to his own Judgment, and that he might not seem to have acted out of Passion or Revenge, he assembled a great Council, consisting of all the chief Men of the Kingdom, charging them to examine the Decree, which *Wilfrid* pretended to have been issued by the Pope and his Council, and to deliver their Judgment concerning it. At this Council assisted; among the rest, *Bosa* of *York*, and *Eata* of *Hexham*, the only Bishops, at this time, in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; and they were all of Opinion, the Bishops as well as the Nobility, that the Decree was either forged, or had been purchased with Money; and consequently that *Wilfrid* was either guilty of Forgery, or of a still more detestable Crime, the Crime of Simony. Pursuant to this Judgment, he was by the King's Order, and with the Consent of the Bishops, says the Historian, sent to Prison, and there kept nine Months under close Confinement, no one being allowed to come near him; and when he was released, it was on Condition that he should never again set Foot in *Northumberland*<sup>1</sup>. Such was the Issue of the first Appeal, that occurs in History, from *Britain* to *Rome*. This Instance the Jesuit *Alford* did not remember, or thought his Readers did not remember it, when he confidently asserted the *English* Bishops to to have been all from the Beginning appointed or confirmed, removed or restored, by the Pope or his Delegates without any Controul from the *Saxon* Kings.

Year of  
Christ 679.

*Wilfrid sent  
first to Pri-  
son, and af-  
terwards ba-  
nished.*

In the mean time *Theodore*, hearing that in most other Kingdoms Councils had been held against the *Monothelites*, and their Doctrine had been every-where condemned, that he might not appear to be wanting in Zeal on such an Occasion, the rather as he was a Native of *Greece*, where that Doctrine chiefly prevailed, assembled a Council at *Hatfield*, and having there found, says *Bede*, upon diligent Enquiry, that the Bishops, who composed it, were all orthodox in their Belief, he drew up, with their Consent and Approbation, a Confession of Faith, which they all signed. In that Confession they declared their Assent to the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity, and to every other Doctrine, that had been taught and defined by the five General Councils, to which they added the Council that had been convened by Pope *Martin* in *Rome* against the *Monothelites*, anathematizing all, whom those Councils had

*The Mono-  
thelite Doc-  
trine con-  
demned in a  
Council at  
Hatfield.  
Year of  
Christ 680.*

<sup>1</sup> Edd. vit. *Wilfrid*. c. 37.

Year of  
Christ 680.

anathematized, and receiving all, whom they had received. This Council is said to have consisted of the Bishops of the Island of *Britain*; but that must be understood of the *English* Bishops only, there being no Communication at this time between them and the *Britons*, the *Scots*, and the *Picts*. *Theodore* presided, and is stiled, in the Preamble to their Confession of Faith, Archbishop of the Island of *Britain*, and the City of *Canterbury* <sup>k</sup>. Besides the Bishops, of whom there was then but a small Number in *England*, several other Ecclesiastics were present, and among the rest *John* Precentor of the Church of *St. Peter*, and Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Martin* in *Rome*. He was brought over by the famous Monk *Biscop*, surnamed *Benedictus*, Founder of the Monastery of *Wremouth* in *Northumberland*, to instruct his Monks in the Art of Singing, and teach them to perform the Festival Services throughout the Year according to the *Roman* Manner. The Precentor had been charged by *Agatho*, at his setting out for *England*, to inform himself of the Doctrine of that Church with respect to the Heresy, that prevailed in the East, and to acquaint him with it on his Return. For as *Theodore* was by Birth a *Greek*, the Pope suspected he might favour, or at least not oppose as he ought, the Errors of the *Greeks*. Of that *Theodore* was well apprised, as *Bede* seems to insinuate; and therefore to satisfy the Pope as to the Orthodoxy of his own Faith, as well as the Faith of the Church committed to his Care, he not only invited *John* to his Council, but at his Departure gave him a Copy of the Confession, which he and the other Bishops had signed in his Presence, to be delivered by him to the Pope <sup>l</sup>.

The Legates  
of the Pope  
arrive at  
Constanti-  
nople, and  
are well re-  
ceived by the  
Emperor.

The Council of *Hatfield* was the last that was held in the West against the *Monothelites*; and the Pope had yet received no Account of it, when his Legates, and those of his Council, set out for the East. They left *Rome* in the Month of *April* of the present Year 680. and arrived at *Constantinople* on the 10th of *September*, where they were immediately introduced to the Emperor, who received them with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem, allotted them the Palace of *Placidia* for their Habitation, and that they might not be burdensome to their Sees or their Churches, ordered them to be maintained at the public Expence. Upon their delivering to him the Letters of the Pope and his Council, he expressed a sincere Desire of

<sup>k</sup> Bed. l. 4. c. 17.

<sup>l</sup> Idem ibid. c. 18.

seeing Discord and Division banished, in his Days, from the Church, and warmly exhorted them to divest themselves of all Prepossession or Prejudice, to forbear all Metaphysical Cavils, and having nothing in View but the Discovery of Truth, to keep to the Doctrine of the Scriptures, as understood and explained by the Fathers and the Councils<sup>m</sup>. For it was, at this time, rank Heresy to understand and explain the Scriptures in a different Sense from that, in which they had been understood and explained by the Fathers, tho' they often contradicted each other, and sometimes themselves, in their Expositions and Comments.

Year of  
Christ 680.

As the Western Bishops had been long expected, two Years being now near elapsed since they were first summoned, and the Emperor was quite impatient to see an End put to the Troubles of the Church, as he had happily put an End to those of the State, he wrote, the very Day the Legates arrived, to *George*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, requiring him to assemble, as soon as possible, the Metropolitans and Bishops subject to his See; and at the same time to notify the Meeting of the Council to *Macarius* of *Antioch*, that he too might assemble, without Delay, the Metropolitans and Bishops of his Patriarchate, and repair with them to the Imperial City, to examine there and finally determine in Conjunction with the Legates of the Pope, and those of his Council, the so long controverted Article concerning the Will and Operations of Christ. This Letter is dated the 10th of *September*, the 27th Year of the Reign of *Constantine*, and the 12th of his Consulship, that is, of the Christian *Æra* 680. and is addressed to *George the most holy Archbishop of Constantinople, and Universal Patriarch*<sup>n</sup>. This Order the two Patriarchs notify'd, as soon as they received it, to the Metropolitans under the Jurisdiction of their respective Sees, charging them to repair, with all Expedition, to the Place, where the Emperor had appointed them to meet. And thus, in the Space of less than two Months, was assembled a Number thought sufficient by the Emperor to begin the Sessions. It did not at first exceed forty, but amounted in the End to one hundred and sixty-six and upwards.

*The Emperor writes to the other Patriarchs, inviting them to the Council.*

They assembled in a spacious Hall of the Imperial Palace, called *The Council* from the Form of the Building *Trullus* or *Trulla*, that is, *Cupola*,<sup>meets.</sup> and met, for the first time, on the 7th of *November* of the present

<sup>m</sup> Anast. in Agath.

<sup>n</sup> Concil. t. 6. p. 500



Year of  
Christ 680.

In what Or-  
der they sat.

Year. The Emperor assisted in Person at the eleven first Sessions, and at the eighteenth or the last, seated on an high Throne, and attended by the great Officers of State, who in the Acts of the Council are constantly stiled *the Judges*, and acted as such on all Occasions. After them the Bishops sat in the following Order: The Legates of the Pope in the first Place, *viz.* the two Presbyters, *Theodore* and *George*, and the Deacon *John*; *George* of *Constantinople* in the second; the Deputy of the Church of *Alexandria*, that See being then vacant, in the third; *Macarius* of *Antioch* in the fourth; the Deputy of the Church of *Jerusalem*, that See being likewise vacant, in the fifth; and the Deputies from the Pope's Council in the sixth, *viz.* *John* of *Porto*, *Abundantius* of *Paterna*, and *John* of *Reggio*. After them were placed the Deputies of the Bishop of *Ravenna*, and the other Bishops, or their Deputies, each according to the Rank and Dignity of their Churches or Sees. In the midst of the Assembly was placed on a Chair of State the Book of the Gospel, the only Honour that was paid to it; for by neither Party was it ever once opened, quored, or even mentioned; insomuch that had they not allowed it a Place in their Assembly, no Man could have thought, that they ever had heard of such a Book.

Speech of the  
Pope's Le-  
gates.

When the Bishops were all placed, the Legates of the Pope and his Council rising up, charged the Bishops of *Constantinople*, namely, *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, *Paul*, and *Peter*, and with them *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, and *Theodorus* of *Pharan*, with having introduced a new Doctrine into the Church, teaching that in Christ there was but one Will, and one Operation. This Doctrine, said they, was unknown to the Fathers, and it is incumbent on those, who maintain it, to shew on what they ground their Opinion. When they had done speaking, the Emperor ordered those, who taught or professed that Doctrine, to answer the Legates, and shew on what Grounds they taught and professed it. Hereupon *Macarius* of *Antioch*, the ablest as well as the most zealous Man of the Party, rising up and advancing into the midst of the Assembly; "The Doctrine, said he, which we teach, is not a new Doctrine, nor has it by us been introduced into the Church. The Fathers have taught it before us, the Councils have defined it; and it is upon their Authority that we teach and profess it, upon their Authority as understood and explained by the holy Archbishops of *Constantinople*, *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, *Paul*, and *Peter*, by *Honorius* of Old *Rome*, and by *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, all Men of  
" eminent

“ eminent Learning and Probity.” “ If so, reply'd the Emperor, let the  
 “ authentic Copies of the Councils, and the Writings of the Fathers, <sup>Year of  
Christ 680.</sup>  
 “ be brought; let the Passages, that countenance your Doctrine, be  
 “ publicly read, and compared with the Originals, that no room may  
 “ be left for misconstruing their Words, or misunderstanding their  
 “ Meaning.” The Councils were brought accordingly out of the Ar- <sup>The ten first  
Sessions spent  
in examining  
Pages out  
of the Coun-  
cils and Fa-  
thers.</sup>  
 chives of the Patriarch, and with them the voluminous Works  
 of the Fathers; and in examining the innumerable Passages alleged  
 from them by both Parties in favour of their respective Opinions, in  
 comparing them with the Originals, and disputing about their true  
 Meaning, which was not easily, if at all, to be found out, were spent  
 the ten first Sessions. In the first Session a Passage cited by *Mac-*  
*arius* out of a Letter from *Cyril* of *Alexandria* to the Emperor *Theo-*  
*dosius*, gave Occasion to a very warm Dispute between him and the  
 Legates. For it being there said, that *the Will of Christ was omni-*  
*potent*, *Macarius* concluded from thence, that *Cyril* had acknowledged  
 but one Will in Christ, and that an Omnipotent or a Divine Will.  
 On the other hand the Legates maintained, that *Cyril* spoke there  
 of the Will of Christ only as God, and consequently of his Divine  
 Will only; and that as the Divine Will and the Human were not  
 incompatible in one and the same Person, it was quite absurd to infer  
 from *Cyril's* admitting the one, that he excluded the other. *Mac-*  
*arius* would not allow two Wills to be compatible in one and the same  
 Person, arguing from the Plurality of Wills the Plurality of Persons,  
 and taxing the Legates with rank *Nestorianism*. Here the Orthodox  
 Party, recurring to the Mystery of the Trinity, reasoned thus: If  
 two Wills argue two Persons, one Will only will of course argue  
 one Person only; but in the Trinity there is but one Will, the  
 Father not having a different Will from that of the Son, nor the Son,  
 from that of the Holy Ghost; *ergo*, in the Trinity there is but one  
 Person; than which nothing can be more absurd, heretical, blasphemous.  
 They added, that in the Trinity the Father willed as God,  
*Voluit quatenus Deus*, and not as the Father; else, as he is a distinct  
 Person from the Person of the Son, his Will would be likewise a  
 distinct Will from the Will of the Son; and thence they concluded,  
 that to will belonged to the Nature, and not to the Personality; and  
 consequently where the Nature was one, could there be but one Will,  
 let the Persons be ever so many; and on the contrary, where the  
 Natures were more than one, the Wills too must be necessarily more  
 than

Year of  
Christ 680.

than one, let the Persons be ever so few. After a great deal of such Metaphysical Jargon on both Sides, the Emperor and the Judges, who, no doubt, perfectly understood it, decided the Dispute in favour of the Legates.

The Mono-  
thelitic Do-  
ctrine ex-  
plained by  
Macarius.

In the second Session a new Dispute arose between *Macarius* and the Legates on occasion of a Passage in the famous Letter of Pope *Leo* to *Flavianus* of *Constantinople* concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation. For it being there said, that in Christ there were two Natures, *viz.* the Human and the Divine, and that after their Union both retained their respective Properties, and both operated, the Legates inferred from thence, that *Leo* had acknowledged two distinct Wills in Christ, and two distinct Operations, as well as two distinct Natures: For else how could both Natures, said they, retain their respective Properties? how could they both operate? We do not deny, reply'd here *Macarius*, that both Natures retained their respective Properties; we even allow both Natures to have operated; but they did not both operate in the same manner. The Divine Nature operated as the chief Agent or Cause; and the Human as a mere Instrument of the Divine, and therefore could not be said, no more than any other Instrument, to have any Operation of its own, any Operation different or distinct from that of the primary Agent or Cause. Thus was the Doctrine of the *Monothelites*, which some modern Writers seem to have grossly mistaken, understood and explained by *Sergius*<sup>p</sup>, *Pyrrhus*<sup>q</sup>, *Theodorus* of *Pharan*<sup>r</sup>, and the other Men of Learning, who maintained and professed it. According to them the Humanity of Christ produced no Action or Operation of itself, but was moved, as a mere Instrument, by the Divinity, in the same manner as the Human Body produces no Action or Operation of itself, but is, in every Action or Operation, governed and moved by the Soul. Hence they concluded, that in Christ there was no Human Will, nor was there any Occasion for an Human Will, the Divine Will supplying the room of the Human. And it is to be observed, that tho' the Humanity of Christ was, in their System, an Instrument of the Divinity, to which it was united; yet they allowed it to co-operate with the Divinity, and to produce its proper Operations; but those Operations they called sometimes *Divine*, as originally proceeding from the Divinity, and sometimes *Theandric*, as being produced by the Humanity and the

<sup>p</sup> See Vol. II. p. 40.  
cum Maxim.

<sup>p</sup> Serg. in Ep. ad Honor.

<sup>r</sup> Theodor. Pharan. Concil. Lateran. Secret. 3.

<sup>q</sup> Pyrr. in Disp.

Divinity,

## Agatho. BISHOPS of Rome.

111

Divinity, but by the Humanity only, as an Instrument of the Divinity. <sup>Year of Christ 680.</sup> *Christ*, said *Sergius* in his Letter to *Honorius* <sup>1</sup>, *operated what was Human and what was Divine, by one and the same Operation, because the Human as well as the Divine Operations proceeded from one and the same incarnate Word.* In this Dispute nothing was determined by the Judges in favour of the one Party or the other.

In the third Session were read the Acts of the fifth General Council; and to them was found prefixed a Discourse or Letter under the Name of *Mennas* of *Constantinople* to Pope *Vigilius*, proving, that in Christ there was but one Will. That Picce had been often quoted both by *Sergius* and *Cyrus*, and great Stress was laid on it by the whole *Monothelite* Party. But the Legates questioning its Authenticity, and alleging against it, that *Mennas* died in the 21st Year of *Justinian*, whereas the fifth Council was not held till the 27th Year of that Emperor's Reign (A), it was carefully examined by the Emperor, the Judges, and some of the Bishops, and found to have been added, not long before, to the Acts of that Council, the Writing being yet fresh, and no such Letter appearing among the authentic Letters of *Mennas*, lodged in the Archives of the Patriarch (B). Hereupon it was by the Judges declared a Forgery, and ordered by the Emperor to be laid aside. In the Acts of the same Council, were two Letters from Pope *Vigilius*; the one to the Emperor *Justinian*, and the other to the Empress *Theodora*; and in both the Pope anathematized *Theodorus* of *Mopsuesta*, for not confessing one Nature in Christ, one Person, and one Operation. But those Letters were found to have been falsified in several Places; and so were most of the Passages alleged by *Macarius* out of the Fathers to support his

*The Monothelites found guilty of Forgery.*

<sup>1</sup> *Serg.* in *Ep. ad Honor.* *Concil.* 6. *Sess.* 12.

(A) The Legates were grossly mistaken in point of Chronology: For *Mennas* died not in the 21st, but in the 26th Year of *Justinian*, of the Christian Æra 522. one Year only before the meeting of the fifth General Council, as is manifest from *Nicephorus* (1), *Theophanes* (2), and the Acts of that Council.

(B) As that Letter had never been heard of till quoted by *Sergius*, it is generally

supposed to have been forged by him, and to have been afterwards inserted by some of his Successors in the Acts of the fifth General Council. However that be, it greatly contributed to the establishing of *Monothelism* in the East, many readily embracing a Doctrine taught, as they were made to believe, by a Bishop of *Constantinople*, and approved by a Bishop of *Rome*.

(1) *Niceph. Chron.* 1.

(2) *Theoph. ad Ann. Incar. secund. Alexand.* 546.

Year of  
Christ 680.

Opinion. On the other hand the Texts quoted by the Legates and the Pope in his Letter to the Empe or, intitely agreed with the Originals; and there wanted no more to convince the Fathers of the Council, that the Doctrine of two Wills was the true Catholic and Apostolical Doctrine.

George of  
Constanti-  
nople re-  
nounces the  
Monothelite  
Doctrine, and  
all the Bishops  
subject to his  
See.

Year of  
Christ 681.

*George of Constantinople* was the first who changed his Opinion, publicly declaring, to the great Mortification of the *Monothelite* Party, that he was now fully satisfy'd the Fathers had all acknowleged two Wills in Christ; that he acknowleged two Wills with them, and would thenceforth teach no other Doctrine. His Example was followed by all the Bishops of his Patriarchate; and by all was received the Letter of *Agatho*, defining the Doctrine of two Wills, and anathematizing those, who taught any other. Great Things were said on this Occasion by some of the Converts (for so we may stile them) in Commendation of *Agatho*. Among the rest, *Domitius of Prusias* in *Bithynia* declared, that he received the Letter of the thrice blessed *Agatho*, Archbishop of the first See, as dictated by the Holy Ghost, and uttered by the Mouth of St. *Peter* himself. *Macarius* however still continued to maintain and warmly defend the opposite Opinion; nay, and boldly declared, when exhorted by the Emperor to agree with the Majority, and put an End to so long and so obstinate a Dispute, that he could not acknowlege two Wills in Christ, and never would, were he to be cut in Pieces, or thrown headlong into the Sea. This Declaration was received with a Peal of Curses and Anathemas by the Orthodox Party. *Cursed be the new Dioscorus*, they all cried out; *let him be deposed, let him be driven out; cursed be the new Apollinaris (C); let him be degraded; let him be stript of his Pall*. At these Words, one of the Bishops, *Basil of Crete*, more zealous than the rest, starting up, and laying violent Hands on the unhappy Patriarch, tore his Pall off his Shoulders, and drove him by

*Macarius re-  
fusing to re-  
nounce that  
Doctrine, is  
anathema-  
tized, and  
driven out of  
the Council.*

(C) *Apollinaris* held the Body of Christ to have been animated by the Divinity supplying the room of an Human Soul. Of *Dioscorus* I have spoken at Length elsewhere (1). He was a zealous *Eutychian*, and at the Head of that Party. The *Monothelites* acknowleged two Natures in Christ against the *Eutychians*, and an Human Soul in Opposition to the *Apolli-*

*narists*. But in all Disputes the contending Parties constantly charged each other as holding the Doctrines however absurd, that could, by their Method of arguing, be deduced from the Doctrines they really held; and by that means made each other guilty of Heresies, which had by neither ever been thought of.

(1) See Vol. II. p. 32. et seq.

Agatho.

BISHOPS of Rome.

113

Force, while his Brethren continued their Curses, out of the Assembly. The Treatment which the Patriarch met with, so terrify'd the Bishops of his Patriarchate, that most of them abandoning him, and siding with the Legates and the orthodox Party, became at once as zealous Advocates for the Doctrine of two Wills, as they had been till that time for the Doctrine of one.

Year of  
Christ 681.

In the 12th Session, held on the 20th of *March*, were read three Letters, which *Macarius*, who was no longer allowed to assist at the Council, had presented to the Emperor; viz. a Letter from *Sergius* to *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, another to Pope *Honorius*<sup>1</sup>, and the Pope's Answer to that Letter. These three Pieces being compared with the Originals, brought for that Purpose out of the Archives of the Patriarch, and found perfectly to agree with them, the Judges ordered the Bishops to examine the Doctrine they contained, and declare their Opinion concerning them. They were accordingly read again in full Council on the 28th of *March*, when the Fathers, after examining them with the utmost Care and Attention, solemnly delivered their Judgment, and with one Accord, in the following Terms: *Having examined the dogmatic Letters, that were written by Sergius, formerly Bishop of this royal City, to Cyrus once of Phasis, and to Honorius, Bishop of Old Rome, and likewise the Answer of the said Honorius to the Letter of Sergius, we have found them quite repugnant to the Doctrine of the Apostles, to the Definitions of the Councils, to the Sense of the Fathers, and entirely agreeable to the false Doctrines of the Heretics; therefore we reject and accurse them as hurtful to the Soul. As we reject and accurse such impious Dogmas, so we are all of Opinion, that the Names of those, who taught and professed them, ought to be banished from the Church, that is, struck out of the Diptychs; viz. the Names of Sergius, formerly Bishop of this royal City, who first wrote of this impious Tenet, and Cyrus of Alexandria, of Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, who once held this See, and agreed in Opinion with them; and likewise of Theodorus, formerly Bishop of Pharan; who have all been mentioned by the thrice blessed Agatho, in his Letter to our most pious Lord and mighty Emperor, and have been anathematized by him, as holding Opinions repugnant to the true Faith. All these, and each of them, we*

Sergius, Cyrus, &c. and Pope Honorius, condemned as Heretics.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 14. 16.

Year of  
Christ 681.

*too declare anathematized; and with them we anathematize, and cast out of the holy Catholic Church, Honorius, Pope of Old Rome, it appearing from his Letter to Sergius, that he entirely agreed in Opinion with him, and confirm'd his impious Doctrine. We have likewise examined the Synodal Letter of Sophronius of blessed Memory, formerly Bishop of the holy City of Jerusalem, and having found it agreeable to the Catholic Faith, and the Doctrine of the Apostles and Fathers, we have received it, and ordered his Name to be*

*And their  
Heretical  
Writings con-  
demned to the  
Flames.*

*put into the Diptychs*<sup>u</sup>. In the same Session was read, examined, and by a Decree of the Council condemned to the Flames, and publicly burnt, with the Writings of the other *Monothelites*, the second Letter of *Honorius* to *Sergius*, as containing the same profane and impious Doctrine. And it is to be observed, that this Decree, as well as the Sentence mentioned above, passed without the least Opposition, no one offering to defend *Honorius*, or excuse him, no not even the Legates of the Pope; a plain Proof that they did not think he could by any means be excused or defended.

*Pretended  
Vision of a  
Monk.*

In the 15th Session a Monk and Presbyter, named *Polychronius*, presented a Confession of Faith to the Council, wherein he acknowledged but one Will in Christ; and at the same time solemnly declared, that he had been confirmed in that Belief by a Person of a most majestic and heavenly Aspect, who appearing to him had assured him, that he was no Christian, who held any other Doctrine; and had therefore ordered him to acquaint the Emperor with his Vision, and strive to divert him from introducing any other into the Church. He was believed by the credulous Multitude, and had brought great Numbers of them over to his Opinion; nay, he was himself so firmly persuaded of the Truth of the Faith revealed to him in the pretended Vision, and of the Vision itself, that he undertook to confirm his Belief, in the Presence of the Judges and the Council, by restoring a dead Man to Life. He miscarried, as we may well imagine, in the Undertaking; but nevertheless could not be prevailed upon to change his Opinion, and acknowledge two Wills in Christ. The Council therefore anathematized and degraded him both as an Impostor and an Heretic<sup>w</sup>.

*Agreement  
proposed be-  
tween the  
two Parties.*

In the 16th Session *Constantine*, Presbyter of *Apamea* in *Syria*, being admitted into the Council, and allowed to speak, proposed

<sup>u</sup> See above, p. 17.

<sup>w</sup> Concil. 6. Sess. 12, 13.

<sup>x</sup> Concil. 6. Sess. 15.

## Agatho. BISHOPS of Rome.

115

an Agreement between the two Parties; and the Terms he recommended were, that the *Monothelites*, who acknowledged in Christ one Operation only, should, for the sake of Peace, acknowledge two; and the Orthodox, who admitted two Wills in Christ, should, for the same Reason, admit only one. Thus, he said, no room would be left for either Party to insult the other, or boast of Victory. But his Proposal was rejected by the Fathers with the utmost Indignation, and he deposed and anathematized with *Sergius*, *Cyrus*, *Honorius*, and all, who had taught, with them, any other Doctrine than that, which had been defined by the Councils, and taught by the Fathers <sup>w</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 681.

In the 17th Session was proposed, and in the 18th, held on the 16th of *September*, was publicly read, approved, and signed, the Definition or Decree of the Council. At this Session the Emperor assisted in Person, and were present 166 Bishops, or their Deputies. In their Definition they first received the five preceding General Councils, the Decree of the Council of *Rome* under *Agatho*, and the Letter of that Pope to the Emperor<sup>x</sup>: In the next Place they anathematized the impious and execrable Doctrine of one Will in Christ, and one Operation, with which the Devil had attempted to poison the Minds, and kill the Souls, of the Faithful, employing for that Purpose, as his Organs, *Theodorus* of *Pharan*, *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, *Paul*, and *Peter* of *Constantinople*, *Honorius* of *Old Rome*, *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, and *Macarius* of *Antioch*. Lastly they acknowledged two distinct Wills in Christ, and two distinct Operations; and strictly enjoined all, the Laity as well as the Clergy, to hold, teach, and profess, that and no other Doctrine, the Clergy and Bishops on pain of being deposed, and the Laity of being forever cast out of the Church. This Definition was signed by the Legates of the Pope, by *George* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, by the Legate of the Church of *Alexandria*, by *Theophanes*, who had been appointed Patriarch of *Antioch* in the room of *Macarius*, by the Legates of the Archbishops of *Theffalonica*, *Cyprus*, and *Ravenna*, by those of the Council of *Rome*, and by all the other Bishops in the Order they were placed. In no other Council were the Bishops more unanimous than in this. For the Emperor asking them, when the Decree was read, whether they all agreed to it, *We all agree to it*, they answered, *all to a Man, we are all of*

The Definition  
of the  
Council.

The Bishops  
all unanimous.

<sup>w</sup> Concil. 6. Sess. 16.

<sup>x</sup> See above, p. 100.



Year of  
Christ 681.

*one Mind; this, and no other, is the Faith of the Apostles, the Councils, and the Catholic Church.* On this Occasion they broke out into loud Acclamations, extolling the Zeal and Piety of the Emperor, wishing him long Life and a prosperous Reign, and at the same time anathematizing all Heretics, whether antient or modern, and among the latter *Honorius* Pope of *Old Rome*. The Emperor solemnly declared, that in assembling the present Council he had no other Design, nothing else in View, but to establish, by that Means, the most effectual he could think of, the orthodox Faith; and therefore exhorted the Bishops, if they disliked the Decree, or any Part of it, to speak their Minds freely. They answered again all with one Voice, *This is the Faith of the Catholic Church, the Faith of the Fathers, the Councils, and ours;* and begged the Emperor to sign, ratify, and confirm it, which he did accordingly. In the End of this Session was read a Panegyric on the Emperor in the Name of the Council, signed by all the Bishops of the Assembly to express their Gratitude to a Prince, under whose Auspices they had firmly established the Catholic Faith, condemned the opposite Heresy, and anathematized its chief Abettors, *viz. Sergius, Cyrus, Theodorus of Pharan, &c.* and likewise *Honorius* Bishop of *Old Rome*, who in all Things had agreed with them.

The Bishops  
of the Council  
write to  
the Pope.

The Bishops, before they parted to return to their respective Sees, wrote to *Agatho* to let him know, that they had approved his Letter, and adhering to the Doctrine it contained, overturned the very Foundations of the new Heresy; that they had condemned as Heretics, and anathematized *Theodorus of Pharan, Sergius, Honorius, &c.* and deposed *Macarius* late Patriarch of *Antioch*, with his Disciple *Stephen*, Monk and Presbyter of that City, and likewise *Polychronius*, who all taught and professed the same impious Doctrine. As for other Particulars, they refer the Pope to the Acts of the Council, and his Legates, who, they say will give his Holiness, on their Return to *Rome*, a distinct Account of their Conduct in maintaining the Faith, which he had established in his Letter. The Letter of the Council was signed by the Patriarchs, or their Deputies, by thirty-four Metropolitans in their own Names, and in the Names of the Bishops of their respective Provinces, by fourteen Bishops, and by the Deputies of the Council of *Rome*.

Before the Bishops left *Constantinople*, the Emperor caused five Copies of the Decree of the Council to be transcribed, and delivered them signed by himself to the five Patriarchs, or their Deputies; viz. to *George* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to *Theophanes* the new Patriarch of *Antioch*, and to the Deputies or Legates of the Patriarchs of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Jerusalem*. At the same time he issued an Edict, containing a Confession of Faith agreeable to that of the Council, anathematizing those, whom the Council had anathematized, and *Honorius* among the rest, and requiring all the Subjects of the Empire to conform, in their Belief, to the present Edict, and the Definition of the Council, on Pain of being deposed, if Ecclesiastics, of forfeiting their Honours and Estates, if Laymen of Rank and Distinction, and if private Persons, of being banished for ever the City of *Constantinople*, and all the other Cities of the Empire.

Year of  
Christ 681.  
Copies of the  
Decree of the  
Council de-  
livered to the  
five Patri-  
archs.

The Imperial  
Edict.

Such were the Proceedings of the sixth General Council, a Council received by the Church of *Rome*, and all *Roman* Catholics, as of equal Authority with the Council of *Nice*, with that of *Trent*, or any other Council; and consequently of equal Authority, according to Pope *Gregory the Great*, with the Gospels themselves. But by this Council a Pope was arraigned of Heresy, his Writings were condemned to the Flames, as containing Heretical Doctrines, and he himself anathematized over and over again as an Heretic. Here one would think, that the Papal Infallibility would at last by all be given up, by all who received the present Council, and believed it infallible, as every *Roman* Catholic is bound to believe it on pain of Damnation. For if the Pope was justly condemned, how could he be infallible? If he was unjustly condemned, how could the Council be infallible that condemned him? The Infallibility of a General Council is no less sacred in the Church of *Rome*, than the Infallibility of the Pope; and how can the Infallibility of the one, in the present Case, be reconciled with the Infallibility of the other? In Answer to these troublesome Queries, for the Papal Infallibility must be maintained at all Events, long Dissertations have been written, nay, and whole Volumes by the ablest Men of that Party. But all, that has been hitherto said on this Subject, or indeed can be said, for nothing has been omitted, that can be said, may be reduced to the three following Heads; viz. I. That the Pope was

The Infalli-  
bility of the  
Pope irrecon-  
cilable with  
that of the  
Council.

not

Year of  
Christ 681.

not condemned, as is universally supposed, by the sixth General Council. II. That he was not condemned as an Heretic. III. That the Council, however incapable of erring in Matters of Faith, erred in Matter of Fact, and condemned the Pope as an Heretic, tho' guilty of no Herefy.

Honorius of Old Rome was condemned by this Council, *Constantinople*, who had been deposed by the Emperor, and was, as he and not *Theodorus* of New Rome. That *Honorius* was not condemned by the sixth General Council is asserted by *Baronius*, and stiffly maintained in his Account of that Council<sup>2</sup>. According to him *Theodorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who had been deposed by the Emperor, and was, as he supposes, condemned as an obstinate *Monothelite* by the Council, being afterwards restored to the Patriarchal See, and getting Possession of the Archives, where the Acts of the sixth Council were lodged, took care to blot his own Name every-where out of them, and to insert that of *Honorius* in its room: So that *Honorius* of *Old Rome* was not the Person, whom the Council condemned as an Heretic, but *Theodorus* of *New Rome*; and therefore where-ever the Name of the former occurs in the Acts of the Council, we ought to substitute and read in its Place the Name of the latter. Nothing surely but the utmost Despair could have suggested to the Annalist so desperate a Shift; and no Man can entertain so mean an Opinion of his Parts and his Knowledge, as to think, that he was not himself sensible of the Absurdity of his Plea. For first, that *Theodorus* was condemned is a mere Conjecture of his, without the least Foundation in History, no mention being made of him by any of the contemporary Historians, who have written of this Council, and named all, who were condemned by it. If *Theodorus* was condemned, how came they to name all the rest, and omit him? That might be owing to Forgetfulness in some, but could not be owing to Forgetfulness in all. But not to insist on a negative Argument; the Restoration of *Theodorus* to his former Dignity is a positive and convincing Proof, that he was not condemned. For who can believe, that the Emperor would have consented to his Restoration, had he been condemned by the Council as an obstinate *Monothelite*? the Emperor, who, by his Edict, had ordered all Bishops to be deposed, who did not receive and profess the Doctrine defined by the Council, and who, according to *Baronius*, had caused *Theodorus* to be deposed for not receiving it even before it was defined?

<sup>2</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 681.

Secondly,

Secondly, *Theodorus* was not yet restored, when the five authentic Copies of the Definition of the Council, signed by the Emperor himself, as has been observed above, were delivered by his Order to the five Patriarchs, or their Deputies; for one of the Copies is said, in the eighteenth and last Session of the Council, to have been delivered to *George*, the most holy Patriarch of the Apostolic Church of the great City of *Constantinople*. These Copies therefore cannot be said to have been falsify'd by *Theodorus*. But that *Honorius* was condemned, and not *Theodorus*, in the Copy, that was delivered to the Legates of the Pope, is evident from the Letter, which *Leo II.* the Successor of *Agatho*, wrote to the Emperor after he had perused it, and had been informed by the Legates of all the Transactions of the Council. For in that Letter he declared, that he received the Definition of the Council, that he professed no other Faith, and that he anathematized those, whom the Council had anathematized, namely, *Theodorus of Pharan, Sergius, Cyrus, &c.* and *Honorius*. At the same time he wrote to the *Spanish* Bishops, and likewise to *Ervigius* King of *Spain*, to acquaint them with the Proceedings of the Council, and in both Letters he names *Honorius* among those, who had been anathematized and condemned by the Council.

Year of Christ 681.

The Copies of the Decree of the Council not falsify'd by Theodorus.

Leo II. owns that Honorius was condemned.

Thirdly, The Legates never complained of any Alteration made in the Copy, that was delivered to them. And who can believe, that, had they found the Name of a Bishop of *Constantinople* erased, whom the Council had condemned, and the Name of a Pope, whom the Council had not condemn'd, substituted in its room, they would have been silent on such an Occasion; that they would not have acquainted the Pope with it; that they would have suffered him to communicate a Copy, thus falsify'd, to all the Western Bishops, and exhort them to receive it, to embrace the Doctrine, that was there defined, and anathematize those, who had taught any other, viz. *Theodorus of Pharan, Sergius, Cyrus, &c.* and *Honorius*?

The Pope's Legates complain of no Alteration in the Decree of the Council.

Fourthly, That *Honorius* was condemned by the sixth General Council is attested by the Emperor in his Edict, and in his Letter to the Pope, by the Bishops of the Council in their Letter to the Pope, by the two Popes, *Leo II.* and *Adrian II.* by two General Councils, the seventh and eighth, by all the contemporary Writers to a Man, and by almost all the Historians, who have spoken of that Council since the time in which it was held, to the time of *Baronius*. The Annalist therefore might have as well questioned or denied the Con-

Agreed on all hands that Honorius was condemned.

Year of  
Christ 681.

What is said  
of Honorius  
not applicable  
to Theo-  
dorus.

demnation of *Arius* by the first General Council, or the Condemnation of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches* by the third and the fourth, as the Condemnation of *Honorius* by the sixth; it being no better attested, that they were condemned, nor by a greater Number of unexceptionable Witnesses, than it is, that he was condemned: Nay, as *Baronius* pretends the Copies of the sixth Council to have been all falsify'd, and the Name of *Honorius*, who was not condemned, to have been every-where inserted instead of the Name of *Theodorus*, who was condemned, and the Historians to have been all misled, as well as the Popes and the Councils, by the falsify'd Copies; so might an *Arian*, a *Nestorian*, an *Eutychian*, pretend, and with as much Appearance of Truth, had he as much Assurance as *Baronius*, the Copies of the above-mentioned Councils to have been all falsify'd, and the Names of *Arius*, *Nestorius*, and *Eutyches*, who were not condemned, to have been every-where inserted instead of the Names of *Athanasius*, *Flavianus*, and *Cyril*, who were condemned, and the Historians, as well as the succeeding Councils and Popes, to have

been all misled by the falsify'd Copies. I might add, that where *Honorius* is condemned, Things are said of him, that are no-ways applicable to *Theodorus*, nor to any but him. Thus in the thirteenth Session the Letter, which he wrote to *Sergius*, who died fifty Years before the time of *Theodorus*, is condemned, as containing Doctrines repugnant to the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Definitions of the Councils. In the fourteenth Session his Letter to *Sergius* is again condemned, as agreeing in all Things with the Writings of the Heretics; and in the eighteenth Session it is ordered to be publicly burnt, as containing the same heretical Opinions, the same Impieties, that were found in the Writings of the other *Monothelites*. But from what has been said already it is no less certain and evident, if there is any Certainty and Evidence in History, that *Honorius* was condemned by the sixth General Council, than it is certain and evident, that such a Pope ever existed, or such a Council ever was held; and *Baronius* might have as well questioned or denied the one as the other.

Reasons al-  
leged by Ba-  
ronius to  
prove, that  
Honorius  
was not con-  
demned.

As for the Reasons, on which the Annalist founds his Opinion, they are such as can only serve to convince us, that his Opinion is absolutely destitute of all Foundation. Those, on which he lays the chief Stress, are; I. The Council approved the Letter of *Agatho* to the Emperor, asserting that the Apostolic Church of *Rome* had never gone astray from the Path of Truth, but that his Predecessors had constantly

constantly confirmed their Brethren in the true Faith. And how could they approve of that Letter, and at the same time condemn one of his Predecessors as an Heretic? II. It does not appear, that the Legates of the Pope, who were present at the Council, ever once offered to justify *Honorius*, or to excuse him; and who can believe, that had he been arraigned of Heresy, they would have been silent on such an Occasion? III. Several Writers, who speak of the sixth Council, and even name those, who were there condemned, have not named *Honorius* among them. *Ergo*, *Honorius* was not condemned; and the Passages in the Acts of the Council, where it is said that he was, must have been altered and falsify'd. These are the Reasons gravely alleged by *Baronius* to convince us, that till his time none were rightly informed of the Transactions of the Council, no not even the Bishops of whom it was composed. These he calls *weighty Proofs*; but that they are not of Weight enough to counterbalance the Testimony even of a single Historian of any Character, much less of all Antiquity, may be easily made to appear.

For as to the first, we might, agreeably to the Annalist's Method of Reasoning, deny that the Letter of *Agatho* was approved by the Council, and argue thus: The Council condemned one of the Predecessors of *Agatho* as an Heretic; and how could they at the same time approve of his Letter asserting, that the Apostolic Church of Rome had never gone astray from the Path of Truth, but that his Predecessors had constantly confirmed their Brethren in the true Faith? It is only from the Acts of the Council we learn that the Letter of *Agatho* was approved; and from the same Acts we learn that *Honorius* was condemned. Might we not therefore, with as good Reason, take it for granted, upon the Authority of those Acts, that *Honorius* was condemned, and thence conclude, that the Letter of *Agatho* was not approved, as *Baronius* takes it for granted, that the Letter was approved; and thence concludes, that *Honorius* was not condemned? But not to question with *Baronius* the Authenticity of the Acts of the Council; had the Letter of *Agatho* contained nothing but the Commendations, which he bestows in it on his Predecessors and his See, or had it been read in the Council to prove the Innocence of *Honorius*, the Fathers, could not have approved of it, as *Baronius* observes, and at the same time condemned that Pope without contradicting themselves. But the Letter contained an Exposition at large of the Belief of the Catholic Church concerning the

Year of  
Christ 681.

The Council  
might have  
approved the  
Letter of  
Agatho,  
and con-  
demned Ho-  
norius.

Year of  
Christ 681.

two Wills in Christ, and two Operations; and it was only to know the Sentiments of the Pope and the other Bishops in the West, with respect to that Article, that the Fathers ordered it to be read; and when it was read and examined, they approved and received it, declaring that the blessed *Agatho* had rightly explained and firmly established the Catholic Doctrine, and that they acknowledged with him two Wills in Christ, and two Operations <sup>b</sup>. It is therefore manifest, that they only approved the Letter of *Agatho* so far as it explained and established the Doctrine that had given Occasion to the Controversy, which they were met to determine. As for the Praises, which in the same Letter the Pope bestowed on his Predecessors and his See, they were quite foreign to the Subject of the present Controversy, as well as to the Purpose, for which the Letter was ordered to be read; and therefore the Fathers had no Occasion either to approve or disapprove that Part of it. I might add, that had they done either, they must have disapproved it; the Pope asserting there, that the General Councils had in all Disputes consulted, and taken for their Guide, the Holy *Roman Church*, the Church of the Prince of the Apostles; which is absolutely false, nothing being more certain than that the second General Council was held without so much as the Knowledge of the Holy *Roman Church*, and *was guided by* Nectarius and Gregory Nazianzen, as is, in express Terms, averred by the Fathers of *Chalcedon* in their Letter to the Emperor *Marcian* <sup>c</sup>; and the sixth General Council was so far from being guided by the *Roman Church* or the Pope, that it was convened against his Will, and against his Will it condemned the three Chapters, as has been related at Length elsewhere <sup>d</sup>. But as these Commendations were quite foreign to the Subject in hand, and the Pope had inserted them in his Letter only by the way, after the Example of other Popes magnifying on all Occasions, right or wrong, in Season and out of Season, *the Apostolic See of the Prince of the Apostles*, the Fathers of the Council, attending only to the Point in Dispute, took no manner of Notice of them however groundless and false. They approved his Divinity, and connived at his Vanity.

*The Silence  
of the Le-  
gates Proof  
of his Guilt  
rather than  
of his Inno-  
cence.*

As to the second Reason alleged by *Baronius*, the Silence of the Legates; that *Honorius* was condemned has been demonstrated so far as any Fact can be so; and therefore the Silence of the Legates can

<sup>b</sup> Concil. 6. Sess. 6. et 7.

<sup>d</sup> See Vol. II. p. 397.

<sup>c</sup> Concil. Chal. in Ep. ad Marcian. p. 469.

be only brought as an Argument to prove, that he was justly condemned; nay, that his Guilt was too notorious to admit of any Defence or Excuse. Thus we may, at least, better account for the Silence of the Legates, than by giving the Lye, with *Baronius*, to all Antiquity. They either were not acquainted with the Chicanery, with the pitiful Quibbles and impertinent Distinctions of later times, or were ashamed to use them; and therefore when the Letter of *Honorius* was read, wherein he approved of the Letter of *Sergius* establishing the Doctrine of one Will, and declared that *he agreed in Opinion with him*, that *he acknowledged but one Will in Christ*<sup>e</sup>, instead of recurring to metaphysical Subtleties, and unintelligible Distinctions, or attempting to force, as the modern Popish Writers have done, an unnatural Sense on his Words, they acquiesced, owned him guilty, and joined the rest in anathematizing *Honorius Bishop of Old Rome*. I have hitherto supposed with *Baronius*, that the Legates were quite silent in the Cause of *Honorius*; but that they were not, is manifest from the Acts of the Council, which one would think the Annalist had never perused. For in the eighth Session, when the *Greek* Copy of the Pope's Letter was read, the Legates, not able to persuade themselves, that he had so openly declared for the heretical Doctrine of one Will, and suspecting some Fraud, desired that the *Greek* Copy might be compared with the *Latin* Original lodged in the Archives of the Patriarch; and it was not till they themselves found an entire Agreement between the Original and the Copy, that they consented to the Condemnation of the Pope, being then well apprised, that nothing could be offered capable of making any Impression on the Fathers in his Favour, or diverting them from condemning both him and his Letter<sup>f</sup>. They did all therefore that could be reasonably expected of Men, who thought it their Duty to discover and know the Truth, and not to combat or oppose it, when known and discovered. For the Crime being undeniable if the Letter was genuine, all they could do was to see that the Letter was genuine; and that they did accordingly. But the Infallibility of the Pope was not an Article of their Belief; and therefore they did not think themselves bound to maintain it even against Demonstration.

What the Annalist adds in the third Place, *viz.* that some Writers have not named *Honorius* among those, who were condemned by

Year of  
Christ 681.

*The Silence of  
some Writers  
no Argument  
of his not be-  
ing con-  
demned.*

<sup>e</sup> See above, p. 16, 17.

<sup>f</sup> Concil. 6. Sess. 8.



Year of  
Christ 681.

the Council, is too trifling to be seriously answered, or even to be thought worthy of Notice. For that he was condemned is affirmed, I may say, by an hundred Writers for one who is silent about it, and by Writers, who lived at the very time of the Council, nay, who were present at the Council, and relate what had been done by themselves in the Council; so that had all, who have spoken of the Council since their time, not only been silent about the Condemnation of *Honorius*, but even denied it; neither could their Silence or their Testimony weaken or affect, in the least, the Testimony of so many contemporary and unexceptionable Witnesses.

Most Councils falsify'd, but this not falsify'd as to the Decree of Faith.

As to the long Descant of *Baronius*, and after him of *Gretser*, on the Perfidiousness of the *Greeks* in corrupting the Councils, and the Writings of the Fathers, I readily allow all they say on that Head to be true, nay, and am inclined to think, considering the Perfidiousness of the *Latins* as well as the *Greeks* (for that the *Latins* have not been behind-hand with the *Greeks* in that kind of Perfidiousness, might be shewn by innumerable Instances). and the dreadful Havock both have made of all antient Records and Writings, that there can be no room to doubt, but they, who blindly follow the Fathers and the Councils, as they now are, may receive and believe as an Article of Faith what was anathematized by them as a damnable Heresy, and anathematize as a damnable Heresy what was by them taught and defined as an Article of Faith. That the Acts of a Council therefore should have been falsify'd and corrupted, is no new Thing, as the above-mentioned Authors observe; but that all the Copies of a Council, and the Original itself, should have been corrupted before the Council broke up, and the Fathers parted, who composed it; that they should have carried back with them the Copies thus corrupted to their respective Sees, and either should not have been apprised of those Corruptions, or being apprised of them should have suffered the whole Christian World to be imposed upon by spurious Copies without once offering to undeceive them; is not only a *new Thing*, but a Thing absolutely impossible; and yet what must have certainly happened, if *Honorius* was not condemned. And thus far of the Opinion of *Baronius*, and the Reasons on which it is grounded; an Opinion, which I should not have been at the Trouble of relating, much less of confuting, had it not been to shew how desperate the Case of *Honorius* must have appeared to the Annalist himself,

the

the great Champion of the Papal Infallibility, since he thought he could by no other Means maintain that Prerogative, and clear the Pope from the Charge of Heresy, but by denying a Fact, than which no Fact is better attested in History, and very few are attested so well.

The Opinion of *Baronius*, how groundless soever, and absurd, was received at first with great Applause by the Friends of Rome; and that the Acts of the sixth Council had been falsify'd, was the only Answer returned by the Advocates for the Papal Infallibility to those, who from the Acts of that Council argued against that Prerogative. But the more modern Writers, well apprised of the many glaring Absurdities, and unsurmountable Difficulties, attending that Opinion, have not only abandoned *Baronius*, but inveigh, and some of them with great Acrimony<sup>f</sup>, against him, for presuming to question, and upon such slight Grounds, the Authenticity of Records, that till his time had been received as genuine by the Catholic Church, and the whole Christian World. These all allow the Pope to have been condemned by the Council; but as the Council is, with them, as infallible as the Pope, and the Pope as infallible as the Council, they are strangely at a Loss, and at great Variance among themselves, how to reconcile these two, in the present Case, opposite and jarring Infallibilities! Some will not allow the Pope to have been condemned as an Heretic, or for Heresy, but for a criminal Neglect in not suppressing, as he might and ought to have done, the Heresy that sprung up in his time; others allow him to have been condemned as an Heretic, but pretend the Sentence to have been unjust, and the Fathers to have misunderstood the true Sense or Meaning of the Letters, for which they condemned him.

Among the former are *De Marca* <sup>g</sup>, *Garnerius* <sup>h</sup>, *Tamagninus* <sup>i</sup>, *Condemni* and *F. Pagi* <sup>k</sup>. But that *Honorius* was condemned as an Heretic, or for Heresy, is so plain from the Words of the Judgment given by the Council against him, that one might as well, with *Baronius*, deny him to have been condemned, as deny him to have been condemned as an Heretic. The Words of the Judgment are, *Having read and examined*, say the Fathers of the Council, *the dogmatic Letters written by Sergius of Constantinople to Cyrus of Phasis*.

<sup>f</sup> Combesil. Hist. Monoth. passim.  
Bontif.

<sup>g</sup> Baluz. in ejus Vit. præfixa Libris de Concord. Sacerdot. et Imp.  
<sup>h</sup> Garner. in Append. ad not. capit. 2. Libri Diur. Rom.

<sup>i</sup> Tamagn. in hist. Monothelit.

<sup>k</sup> Pagi ad Ann. 633.

Year of  
Christ 681.

*Honorius, according to some, not condemned as an Heretic; according to others, condemned as an Heretic, but unjustly.*

and

Year of  
Christ 681.

and to Honorius Bishop of Old Rome, and likewise the Answer of Honorius to the said Sergius, and finding them entirely repugnant to the Apostolic Dogmas, as well as to the Definitions of the Councils, and the Doctrine of the approved Fathers, and agreeing with the Doctrines of the Heretics, we reject and accurse them. The Council then ordered the Names of those, whose *impious Dogmas they had accursed and rejected*, to be erased out of the Diptychs, viz. the Name of *Sergius, Cyrus, &c.* and of *Honorius Pope of old Rome, because they had found, by his Letter to Sergius, that he had been in all Things of the same Mind with him, and had confirmed his impious Dogmas, quia in omnibus ejus mentem sequutus est, et impia dogmata confirmavit*<sup>1</sup>. Thus the Council in the 13th Session; and in the End of the same Session they ordered the Writings of *Sergius, of Cyrus, &c.* and likewise of *Honorius*, to be publicly burnt, as *all containing the same Impiety, or the same impious Doctrine*. In their Decree, or Definition of Faith, which they issued in the 18th and last Session, and all signed to a Man, they stiled *Theodorus of Pharan, Sergius, Cyrus, &c.* and likewise *Honorius, Organs of the Devil*, as having been employ'd by the Enemy of Mankind in *sowing Errors, and propagating among the orthodox People the damnable Heresy of one Will in Christ, and one Operation*<sup>m</sup>. Now whether one condemned for writing Letters that contained *Doctrines repugnant to the Apostolic Dogmas, to the Definitions of the Councils, to the Doctrine of the Fathers, and agreeing with the Doctrine of the Heretics; for being, in, all Things, of the same Mind with a professed Heretic, and confirming his impious Dogmas; for sowing Errors, as an Organ of the Devil, and propagating a damnable Heresy*; whether, I say, one thus condemned, can be said to have been condemned only, because he did not suppress that Heresy, when he might, I leave the Reader to judge.

Condemned  
justly.

That *Honorius* was condemned by the sixth General Council, and condemned as an Heretic, is allowed by Cardinal *Turrecremata*<sup>n</sup>, and after him by *Belarmine*<sup>o</sup>, by Cardinal *Pallavicini*<sup>p</sup>, by *Melchior Canus*<sup>q</sup>, by *Arfdekin*<sup>r</sup>, and by *Franciscus Antonius Cavalcanti*,

<sup>1</sup> Concil. 6. Sess. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Concil. 6. Sess. 18.

<sup>n</sup> Turrecremat. de Eccl. 1. 2.

c. 93.

<sup>o</sup> Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. 1. 4. c. 11.

<sup>p</sup> Pallavicin. in Hist. Con.

Trident. 1. 7. c. 4.

<sup>q</sup> Can. de Locis Theol. 1. 5. c. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Arfdekin. Theolog.

tripartit. 3. quæst. 3.

Archbishop of *Cosenza*, in his *Vindiciæ Romanorum Pontificum*, <sup>Year of Christ 681.</sup> published at *Rome* in 1749. and inscribed to the present Pope *Benedict XIV.* That *Honorius* was condemned, says *Turrecremata*, is manifest from the Acts of the Council; and no less manifest it is from the Words of his Sentence, that he was condemned as an Heretic. But from thence we can only conclude, that the Fathers of the Council, misunderstanding his Letters, thought him an Heretic; and a Man may be thought an Heretic even by the Pope, or a General Council, and yet be free from all Heresy. For whether a Man be, or be not an Heretic, is a Question *de facto*; and in Questions *de facto* a General Council may err, and so may the Pope, tho' neither can err in Questions *de jure*, or in Questions concerning either Doctrine or Manners. Thus *Turrecremata*: But, 1st, By this Method of arguing, *Theodorus* of *Pharan*, *Sergius*, *Cyrus*, &c. might be excused from all Heresy as well as *Honorius*, nay, and all, who have been, or ever will be condemned as Heretics either by the Popes, or the Councils, it being a Question *de facto*, whether a Man is or is not an Heretic; and consequently a Question, in the determining of which both the Popes and the Councils may err. II. The Fathers of the Council, in condemning *Honorius* as an Heretic, meant no more than that the Doctrine, which he taught in his Letters, was heretical; and hence it evidently follows, that if they condemned him as an Heretic, though guilty of no Heresy, they condemned his Doctrine as heretical, tho' it was not heretical, which was erring in a Question relating to Doctrine, or in a Question *de jure*. III. The Fathers of the Council understood the Letters of *Honorius* in an heretical Sense, as establishing the Doctrine of one Will; and who can believe those Letters to have been better understood by a *Turrecremata*, a *Bellarmino*, a *Cavalcanti*, than by all the Bishops of the Council, and the Legates of the Pope, who, had they thought them capable of being explained, we may be sure, would not have failed to explain them in a Catholic Sense? But they acquiesced, as we have seen, as soon as the Letters were found to be genuine, and joined the rest in anathematizing *Honorius*, with the other *Monothelites*. What *Cavalcanti* adds, *viz.* that the Letters of *Honorius* are very perplexed and obscure, and consequently that the Bishops of the Council, who were no great Scholars, might have mistaken their Meaning, may

\* *Turrecremat. ubi supra.*

Year of  
Christ 681.

be urged in Favour of *Sergius*, of *Cyrus*, &c. as well as of *Honorius*; and besides, the more obscure they are and perplexed, the less Reason we have to doubt, but that the Bishops of the Council, who were well acquainted with the Modes of Speech, that then obtained, understood them better than they who lived many Ages after; better even than *Cavalcanti* himself; notwithstanding his great Scholarship and the Pains he has taken to convince us, that they did not understand them so well. And it is to be observed, that the Expressions in the Letters of *Honorius*, which that Writer explains in a Catholic Sense, and pretends to have been misunderstood by the Fathers of the Council, are, most of them, the very Expressions, which *Sergius* had used in his Letter to that Pope, and *Cavalcanti* allows to have been rightly understood by the Council, and justly condemned; so that, according to him, the same Expressions were plainly heretical in the Letter of a Bishop of *Constantinople*, and entirely orthodox in the Letter of a Bishop of *Rome*.

*Honorius at least not thought infallible by the Council.*

Lastly, From the Judgment of the Council condemning *Honorius* as an Heretic, it is evident at least, that whether they erred in their Judgment or not, they did not believe him infallible, but as capable of erring as the Bishop of *Constantinople*, with whom they condemned him as teaching the same impious Doctrine. And is it not altogether incredible, that the Pope should be infallible, or incapable of erring, and yet be thought, by the Fathers of a General Council, as capable of erring as any other Bishop, 700 Years after he had enjoy'd such an invaluable Privilege? I might say 900; for the Judgment of the sixth General Council in 681. anathematizing *Honorius* as an Heretic, was confirmed by the eighth in 869. as we shall see hereafter. It is true, says here *Bellarmino*, the sixth General Council, as well as the seventh and the eighth, thought *Honorius* capable of erring; but they only thought him capable of erring as a private Person, not as Head of the Church; and as a private Person he may err, and be thought to err, tho' he cannot err as Head of the Church. That the above-mentioned Councils did not think him capable of erring as Head of the Church, I readily grant, for they did not acknowledge him for Head of the Church. But they thought him capable of erring as a public Per-

‡ Cavalcant. ubi supra, p. 177—204.

▪ Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 11.

son, as Pope, as Bishop of *Rome*; for he was consulted as such by the Bishop of *Constantinople*, who wanted to gain him over to his Opinion, not as a private Person, which would have little availed him, but as Bishop of *Rome*; and it was for his Answer to the Bishop of *Constantinople* consulting him as Bishop of *Rome*, that he was condemned by the Council as guilty of Heresy. Besides, if the Pope were capable of erring as a private Person, but incapable of erring as Pope, a Distinction, which the Advocates for the Papal Infallibility often recur to, it would thence follow, that the Pope might be, in his Heart, an Heretic, a *Jew*, a *Mahometan*, an Atheist, and consequently be Head of the Church, tho' no Member of the Church, be Christ's Vicar, and as *Paul* Vth stiled himself, *Vice-God upon Earth*, tho' he neither believed in Christ, nor in God; than which nothing can be conceived more absurd or more blasphemous. To conclude; from what has been said it is manifest beyond all Dispute, that a Pope was condemned by a General Council, that he was condemned as an Heretic, that he was justly condemned; and consequently, that if a General Council is, the Pope is not infallible. And it was not to demonstrate a Truth so plain in itself, that I have dwelt so long on this Subject, but chiefly to shew what pitiful Shifts, what disingenuous Cavils, and unmeaning Distinctions, those, who pretend to reconcile the Infallibility of the one with that of the other, Men otherwise of great Learning and Parts, are obliged to recur to.

Before I dismiss this Subject, it may not be improper to observe, *This Council*  
 I. That the present Council, as well as all other Councils held to *assembled by*  
 this time, was convened by the Emperor. *This holy and oecumenical* *the Emperor,*  
*Council*, say the Bishops who composed it, *convened by the Pope.*  
*Grace of God, and the religious Command of our most pious, most*  
*faithful, and great Emperor Constantine*<sup>w</sup>: And in their Definition, *Our most gracious Emperor, having gathered us together in*  
*this holy and oecumenical Synod*, &c. Not a Word of the Pope; and yet that they were gathered together by the Pope is asserted by *Baronius* with as much Assurance, as if the Fathers had named him where-ever the Emperor is named. But perhaps the Annalist supposed the Name of *Agatho* to have been every-where crased by *Theodorus*, and that of *Constantine* to have been substituted in

<sup>w</sup> Concil. 6. Sess. 18.

Year of  
Christ 681.

The Emperor  
presides in it.

The Scrip-  
tures never  
consulted.

The whole  
Dispute Phi-  
losophical ra-  
ther than  
Theological.

its room; a Supposition which he might have more easily maintained than the other mentioned above. II. That from the Account I have given of this Council it is manifest, that the Legates of the Pope did not preside at it, as is pretended by *Baronius* and *Belarmine*, but the Emperor himself, so long as he assisted in Person; and in his Absence the Imperial Commissaries, or those whom he had appointed to represent him, and assist in his room. For they sat in the first Place, and are always named the first; they regulated the Proceedings, and Method of Proceeding, proposed what they thought fit to be discussed, declared on which Side was the Majority, adjourned the Council when and how long they pleased, and, what is more, they finally decided, after hearing both Parties, the most important Disputes; the Fathers of the Council appealing to them, and all acquiescing in their Decisions and Judgment. And what else can be meant by presiding at a Council, or at any other Assembly? III. That in the present Dispute the Authority of the Fathers was quite decisive, that the Fathers alone were consulted and appealed to, and the Doctrine, which they had taught, or were thought to have taught, was, without any Regard to the Scriptures, made by the Council an Article of Faith, as if any thing necessary to be believed; could be contained in the Writings of the Fathers, and not in the Scriptures. IV. That the *Monothelites* all acknowledged Christ to be perfect God and perfect Man, as well as they, who stiled themselves Catholics; nay, they even owned the two Natures to remain, after their Union, distinct and unmixed, as had been defined by the Council of *Chalcedon*. But two Wills they thought quite incompatible in one and the same Person; and therefore excluding the human, admitted in Christ only the divine. Against them the Catholics urged, that without an human Will Christ could not be said to be perfect Man, and consequently, that not allowing him an human Will, they did not allow him to be perfect Man; so that the Dispute was, after all, concerning a Question more fit to be resolved by an Assembly of Philosophers, than an Assembly of Bishops; viz. whether Human Nature could be said to be perfect, or to have all its essential Perfections and Properties, without an Human Will. Those, who maintained that it could not, were, it must be owned, better Philosophers than they, who maintained that it could; but so long as both believed Christ to be God and to be Man, to be perfect God and perfect Man, the

Faith

## Agatho. BISHOPS of Rome.

131

Faith of the one was quite as Orthodox as the Faith of the other. Year of Christ 681.  
 Lastly, that tho' the present Controversy had been decided by several Popes, especially by Pope *Martin I.* in the famous Council of *Lateran*, consisting of one hundred and five Bishops, yet it was not thought to have been finally determined till it was determined by a General Council: And it was determined by a General Council, without any kind of Regard to the preceding Decrees and Definitions of the Popes, which were not so much as once mentioned: A plain Proof that the Pope was not yet looked upon as the sovereign Judge in all Disputes and Controversies of Faith. For if he had been acknowledged as such, the Bishops of the Council would not have failed to produce the Decrees of the sovereign Judge, and thus at once put an End to the Controversy, without giving themselves the unnecessary Trouble of consulting the Writings of so many Fathers. But instead of that they did not even receive the Letter of *Agatho*, till they found the Doctrine it contained, agreeable to the Doctrine, which the Fathers had taught. And thus far of this famous Controversy, and the Council, by which it was at last finally determined, a Council of equal Authority in the Church of *Rome*, with any other General Council, tho' intirely subverting, as has been undeniably shewn, the Authority, which has been since claimed and assumed by the Popes. No Regard had by the Council to the Decisions of the Popes.

To return now to *Agatho*; he was not, it seems, so concerned for the good Success of the Council, and the establishing of the Catholic Faith, as to forget the temporal Interests of his See; but had charged his Legates, at their Departure from *Rome*, to apply to the Emperor, in the Name of St. *Peter*, for an Abatement of the Sum, which, ever since the time of *Theodoric the Ostrogoth*, the Popes had all paid into the Exchequer before they could be ordained. The Legates apply'd, pursuant to their Directions, being encouraged by the kind Reception and Treatment they met with; and upon their Application, an Edict was immediately issued, moderating the above-mentioned Sum<sup>f</sup>. *Baronius* supposes this *most iniquitous Exaction*, as he styles it, to have been entirely abolished by the good Emperor *Constantine*; and thence takes Occasion to inveigh against the *Arian and impious* Kings of the *Goths*, by whom it was first introduced. But *Anastasius*, whom he quotes, only says, that the Sum, which the The Emperor lessens the Sum paid by the Popes before their Ordination.

<sup>f</sup> Anast. in Agath.

<sup>g</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 681. p. 562.



Year of  
Christ 681.

Popes usually paid for their Ordination, was lessened, *relevata est quantitas*, &c. and the Annalist might, with much better Reason, have taken Occasion from thence to inveigh against the Popes, than the *Arian and impious* Kings of the *Goths*; since the Popes have far exceeded them in iniquitous Exactions, obliging not only the new Bishops of the greater and more wealthy Sees, to pay a certain Sum, as the Kings of the *Goths* had done, and after them the Catholic Emperors, but exacting of every Ecclesiastic, let the Benefice, to which he is presented, be ever so small, a whole Year's Income, for what they call the Expedition, or Expediting of the Bulls. By the same Edict *Constantine* resumed the Power of confirming the Election of the Pope, which his Predecessors had vested in the Exarchs of *Ravenna*; and the Elect was not thenceforth to be ordained till his Election was notify'd to the Court of *Constantinople*, and the Imperial Decree confirming it was received by the Electors in *Rome* <sup>i</sup>.

But resumes  
the Power of  
confirming  
their Ele-  
ction.

Agatho dies.  
Year of  
Christ 682.

*Agatho* lived but a very short time after the Close of the Council; for the last Session was held on the 16th of *September* 681. and he died on the 10th of *January* 682. having governed the *Roman* Church from the 27th of *June* 678. to that time; that is, three Years, six Months, and fourteen Days <sup>k</sup>. Had he held the See only two Years, six Months, and three Days, as *Anastasius* supposes, he must have died on the 29th of *December* 680. whereas he was still living, according to *Anastasius* himself, when the Council broke up, or on the 16th of *September* 681 <sup>l</sup>.

His Wri-  
tings.

As to the Writings of this Pope; besides his Letter to the Emperor against the *Monothelites*, which was received, as we have seen, and so highly commended by the Council, three others are ascribed to him; *viz.* one to *Edictus* Bishop of *Vienne*, another to *Ethelred* King of the *Mercians*, and a third containing a Grant of Privileges to the Monastery of *Wiremouth*. In the Letter to *Edictus* the Pope gives that Bishop an Account of a Council, consisting of one hundred Bishops, which he had held at *Rome* after the Return of his Legates from *Constantinople*. But the Letter is dated the last Day of *February* 682. and *Agatho* died on the 10th of *January* of that Year. Besides, no mention is any-where made of that Council; nor was there, in the time of *Agatho*, a Bishop of *Vienne* named *Edictus* <sup>m</sup>.

His Letter to  
Edictus of  
Vienne s<sup>t</sup>u-  
rious.

<sup>i</sup> Anast. ubi supra.

<sup>k</sup> See Pagi ad Ann. 682. n. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Anast. in Agath.

<sup>m</sup> Vide Annal. Le Cointe, et San-Marthanos in Gal. Christian.

Of the Letter to *Ethelred* the Saxon Copy, lodged formerly in the Monastery of *Peterborough*, and translated by *Spelman* into *Latin*<sup>n</sup>, is unquestionably spurious. For in that Copy the Abbot of the Monastery of *Medeshamsted*, or *Peterborough*, is appointed by *Agatho* perpetual Legate of the *Roman* See in all the Kingdoms of *England*; a Dignity, which it is certain he never enjoy'd; and *Wilfrid*, by whom the Letter is supposed to have been brought into *England*, is said to have been sent to *Rome* by *Ethelred* to get the Privileges confirmed by *Agatho*, which he and his Brother *Wolfer* had granted to the above-mentioned Monastery; whereas it is evident both from History and Chronology, that *Wilfrid* was not sent to *Rome* by *Ethelred*, but banished by *Ecgrid* King of *Northumberland*, as has been related above<sup>o</sup>, and banished before *Agatho* was raised to the Papal Dignity. The Copy of the same Letter, that has been published by *Dugdale* p, is not liable to the same Objections, nor indeed to any other, and may therefore be allowed to be genuine. The only Privilege granted there to the Abbot of *Peterborough*, is that of Precedency with respect to all other Abbots within a certain District, or the Honour of sitting before them in all Assemblies as Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Peter*, Prince of the Apostles. That Privilege is said in the Subscription to have been granted by the holy Pope *Agatho* with the Consent and Approbation of the Council of one hundred and twenty-five Bishops, that is, of the Council, which *Agatho* assembled at *Rome* to appoint the Legates, who were to be sent to *Constantinople*<sup>q</sup>. The third Letter of *Agatho*, granting, or rather confirming the Privileges, which King *Ecgrid* had granted to the Monastery of *Wiremouth*, is mentioned by *Bede*<sup>r</sup>, but has not reached our Times.

*Agatho* is now honoured as a Saint by the *Greeks* as well as by the *Latins*; by the *Latins* on the 10th of *January*, the Day on which he died; by the *Greeks* on the 20th of *February*, the Day perhaps, on which the News of his Death was brought to *Constantinople*. His Letter against the *Monothelites*, and the General Council, that was held in his time, and condemned them, has rendered his Name famous in the Annals of the Church.

<sup>n</sup> Spelman. de Syn. Angliæ, l. 2. p. 164.  
Anglican. tom. 1. p. 67.  
Biscop. l. 2. n. 6.

<sup>o</sup> See p. 96, 97.

<sup>q</sup> See above, p. 100.

<sup>p</sup> Monastic.  
<sup>r</sup> Bed. in vit. Benedict.

Year of  
Christ 682.

One Copy of  
his Letter to  
Ethelred  
spurious.

Another may  
be allowed to  
be genuine.

Agatho ho-  
noured as a  
Saint.

CONSTANTINE PO-  
GONATUS.

L E O II.

BERTARITH, } Kings of the  
CUNIPERT, } Lombards.

## Seventy-ninth BISHOP of Rome,

Leo II.  
chosen.  
Year of  
Christ 682.The Em-  
peror's Letter  
to him.

IN the room of *Agatho* was chosen, and ordained on the 17th of *August* 682. that is, after a Vacancy of seven Months and seven Days, *Leo*, the second of that Name, a Native of *Sicily*, and the Son of one *Paul*. His first Care was to answer the Letter, which he received from the Emperor together with the Decree confirming his Election. For *Constantine* was no sooner informed of his Election than he confirmed it, and at the same time wrote a long Letter to the new Pope, styling him, *the most holy and blessed Archbishop of Old Rome, and Universal Pope*. In that Letter he acquainted him with the Proceedings of the Council, and the Steps he had taken to establish the Catholic Faith, exhorting his Holiness to maintain the Faith, which the Council had defined, to cut off all Heresies with the Sword of the Word, as *Peter* cut off the Ear of the perfidious *Jew*, and to cut down every Tree with the Ax of the Spirit, that did not bear good Fruit, nor could be brought to bear any, and doom it to Hell-fire. In the same Letter he told *Leo*, that the Letter of his Predecessor *Agatho* had been examined by the Council, and being found to agree with the Scriptures, the Definitions of the Councils, and the Writings of the Fathers, it had been received by all, but *Macarius* of *Antioch*, no otherwise than if it had been written or dictated by St. *Peter* himself. In the End of his Letter he required the Pope to send, without Delay, an Apocrisarius or Nuncio to reside in the Imperial City, who, representing him, might act there in his Name <sup>s</sup>.

The Pope in  
his Answer  
anathema-  
tizes his Pre-  
decessor Ho-  
norius.

In Answer to this Letter, the Pope expressed the greatest Satisfaction at the happy Issue of the Council, extolled the Piety and Zeal of the Emperor, declared that he received the sixth as he received the five preceding Councils, to which he found it entirely agreeable, and anathematized all, whom the Council had anathematized, viz. *Arius*, *Sabellius*, *Macedonius*, *Apollinaris*, &c. and with them the Authors of the new Heresy *Theodorus* of *Pharan*, *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, &c. of *Constantinople*, and likewise *Hono-*

*rius, who had not adorned that Apostolical Church with the Doctrine of Apostolical Tradition, but had treacherously endeavoured to subvert the Catholic Faith* <sup>t</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 682.

Leo, not satisfy'd with receiving the Council himself, wrote immediately to the Metropolitans of the different Provinces in the West, to acquaint them with the Proceedings of the Council, and require them to receive it, and cause it to be received by the Bishops under their respective Jurisdictions. Into *Spain* he dispatched a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, named *Peter*, with four Letters, *viz.* one to all the Bishops of that Country; another to a Bishop named *Quiricus*; the third to *Simplicius*, a Count of great Interest in those Parts; and the fourth to King *Ervigius*. By these Letters the Pope informs those to whom they are addressed, of the Condemnation of the new Heresy, and exhorts them to receive the Council, that condemned so detestable an Error, and established in its room the Catholic Truth, the true and genuine Doctrine of the Apostles, the Councils, and the Fathers <sup>u</sup>. In the Letter to the Bishops of *Spain*, and likewise in that to King *Ervigius*, the Pope mentions the Condemnation of *Honorius*; and it is to be observed, that these Letters, as well as the above-mentioned Letter to the Emperor, were all written by the Pope after he had received the Decree of Faith condemning *Honorius* with the other *Monothelites*, and he had been informed by the Legates of the minutest Transactions of the Council, as he himself writes in his Letter to the Emperor; so that if the Name of *Theodorus*, whom the Council condemned, was erased, and that of *Honorius*, whom the Council did not condemn, was substituted in its room, as *Baronius* pretends, it will thence follow, either that the Legates, who had assisted at the Council, were not themselves apprised of so remarkable an Alteration, than which nothing can be conceived more incredible; or, if they were, that they did not apprise the Pope of it, but, to the great Disgrace of his See, suffered him to publish, all over the West, the Condemnation of one of his Predecessors, who they knew had not been condemned; which no Man can possibly believe or imagine. *Baronius* indeed would persuade us, that these Letters have been all forged, or at least falsify'd by the Enemies of *Rome* <sup>w</sup>; but his Conjectures, if they even deserve that Name, are so trifling, so destitute of all Appearance of Truth, and have been so

Leo writes  
several other  
Letters, and  
in all men-  
tions the Con-  
demnation of  
Honorius.

<sup>t</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 683. p. 573.  
<sup>w</sup> Idem. ibid.

<sup>u</sup> Apud Bar. Ann. 683. p. 574. 576.

Year of  
Christ 682.

Macarius of  
Antioch, and  
others, con-  
demned by the  
Council, are  
sent to Rome.

fully answered by several eminent Writers of his own Communion <sup>z</sup>, that it would be losing time to dwell on them here.

In the time of *Leo* arrived in *Rome* *Macarius* of *Antioch*, and with him his Disciples *Stephen*, *Anastafius*, *Leontius*, *Polychronius*, *Epiphanius*, and another *Anastafius*, who had been all condemned as incorrigible Heretics, and deposed by the Council. *Anastafius* writes, that the Emperor banished them to *Rome* <sup>y</sup>; and *Constantine* himself, in his Letter to *Leo*, tells him, that *Macarius* and his Accomplices had all joined in a Memorial begging his Serenity would send them to his Holiness, that he had sent them accordingly, and that he entirely submitted their Cause to his paternal Judgment; which was abandoning them to his Mercy, to be punished by him as he should think fit. It was, no doubt, to prevent their being confined, as obstinate Heretics, to some inhospitable Place, that they begged the Emperor to send them to *Rome*; and *Constantine* probably granted them their Request, flattering himself, that the Pope would in the End overcome their Obstinacy, and prevail on them to acquiesce, with the rest, in the Judgment of the Council. However that be, on their Arrival in *Rome* they were shut up by the Pope in different Monasteries; where two of them, viz. *Anastafius* the Presbyter, and *Leontius* the Deacon, growing soon sick of their Confinement, and the Treatment they met with, were convinced of their Errors, publicly abjured them, and were admitted by the Pope to his Communion <sup>z</sup>.

Some of them  
recant.

Leo dies.

Year of  
Christ 683.

He obtained  
a Decree of  
the Emperor,  
subjecting  
the See of  
Ravenna to  
that of  
Rome.

*Leo* enjoy'd his Dignity but a very short time, only ten Months, and seventeen Days <sup>z</sup>; for he was ordained on the seventeenth of *August* 682. and died on the third of *July* 683. He was, according to the Bibliothecarian, a Man of great Eloquence, sufficiently versed in the Scriptures, well skilled in the *Greek* and the *Latin*, but far more commendable for his Piety, his Generosity to the Poor, and an universal Benevolence, than for his Parts, or his Learning. Till his time the Church of *Ravenna* had claimed an entire Independence on that of *Rome*. But *Leo*, availing himself of the Partiality, which he observed in the present Emperor for him and his See, obtained an Imperial Edict, subjecting for ever the See of *Ravenna* to the See of *Rome*, and obliging the Bishops of that City to repair to *Rome* after their Election, to be ordained there by the Pope. That Edict was

<sup>z</sup> Vide Anton. Pagi ad Ann. 683. n. 5. 15. et Du Pin. Nouv. Bibliot. l. 5. p. 105.  
<sup>y</sup> Anast. in Leon. II.      <sup>z</sup> Idem ibid.      <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.

## Benedict II. BISHOPS of Rome.

137

no sooner brought to *Rome*, than *Leo*, as it were impatient to exert his new Power, issued a Decree strictly forbidding the Church of *Ravenna*, now under his Jurisdiction, ever more to celebrate the Festival of *Maurus*<sup>a</sup>, who, so long as he governed that Church, had vigorously opposed the Papal Usurpations, and had, on that Score, after his Death been honoured there as a Saint<sup>b</sup>. That Honour *Leo* now enjoys; and truly if the one deserved to be unsainted for withstanding the Papal Usurpations, the other well deserved to be sainted for having so successfully extended them. *Leo* was buried in the Church of St. *Peter*, and in 1607. his supposed Remains, with those of *Leo* the First, the Third, and the Fourth, who have been all sainted, were removed by *Paul V.* out of the old Church into the present<sup>c</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 683.

CONSTANTINE PO-  
GONATUS.  
JUSTINIAN II.

BENEDICT II. BERTARITH, } Kings of  
CUNIPERT, } the Lom-  
bard.

## *Eightieth* BISHOP of Rome.

*LEO* was succeeded by *Benedict*, the Second of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, and the Son of one *John*<sup>d</sup>. He was elected a few Days after the Decease of his Predecessor; but as by the Constitution of *Constantine* mentioned above, the new Pope was not to be ordained till his Election was notify'd to the Emperor, and the Decree confirming it was received in *Rome*, the Ordination of *Benedict* was, by that means, delay'd to the 26th of *June* 684. *And ordain-* when the See had been vacant eleven Months, and twenty-two<sup>ed</sup> Days<sup>e</sup>. However, he wrote in the mean time to the Nuncio, who had been dispatched by *Leo* into *Spain*, with the Decree of the sixth Council, but had yet given no Account of the Success of his Negotiations there; pressing him to execute, without Delay, the Commission, which his Predecessor had charged him with, that is, to get the Decree, condemning the new Heresy, received by the *Spanish* Bishops, and to bring with him, on his Return to *Rome*, a Copy of it, with their Subscriptions. As the Im-

Year of  
Christ 684.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 87.  
<sup>d</sup> Anast. Benedict. II.

<sup>b</sup> Anast. ibid.  
<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Heafchenius ad diem XI. April.

Year of  
Christ 684.

perial Decree, confirming his Election, had not yet been received in *Rome*, he did not take upon him the Title of Pope or Bishop, but only stiled himself *Presbyter*, adding, *and in the Name of God the Elect of the Holy and Apostolic See.*

The sixth  
Council re-  
ceived in  
Spain.

Year of  
Christ 685.

In the Beginning of the following Year the Pope was, to his great Satisfaction, at last informed by his Nuncio, that the Bishops of the Province of *Carthagera* had, in a Council assembled for that Purpose in *Toledo*, and consisting of 17 Bishops, the Deputies of ten more, and six Abbots, carefully examined, approved, and received the sixth General Council; and that their Example had been followed by the Bishops of the other Provinces throughout *Spain*, the present State of the Affairs of that Kingdom not allowing them to assemble in one Council. This Account was soon after confirmed by the Arrival of the Legates, whom the Bishops assembled in *Toledo* had dispatched to *Rome* with a Copy of the Decree of the sixth Council, which they had all signed, and a Confession of their Faith, wherein they acknowledged two Wills in Christ, and two distinct Operations. But in that Confession they used some Expressions, which the Pope did not at all approve of, and which he therefore in his Answer required them to explain. The Expressions were, *The Will begat a Will*, and *In Christ are three Substances*. To examine these Expressions a Council was assembled at *Toledo*, the fifteenth held in that City; and they were, notwithstanding the Offence, which they had given to the Pope, declared by the Bishops who composed that Assembly, sixty in all, entirely orthodox, and agreeable to the Doctrine of *Athanasius*, *Austin*, *Cyrl*, and the other Fathers; whose Doctrine was now the only true Standard of the Christian Faith.

Benedict  
obtains an  
Edict, allow-  
ing the Pope  
to be ordained  
before he was  
confirmed by  
the Emperor.

*Benedict* did not enjoy his Dignity a whole Year, but made good Use, as *Anastasius* observes, of the short time he enjoy'd it, having obtained of the Emperor what none of his Predecessors, however great, however holy, had ever been able to obtain. The Bibliothecarian might have added, and what none of his Predecessors, however bold, however fond of Independence and Power, had ever yet had the Assurance to ask. For, availing himself, as his two immediate Predecessors had done, of the Partiality of *Constantine* to his See, he took Occasion, from the late long Vacancy, to represent to him, and exaggerate, beyond Measure, the Inconveniencies, which he said must necessarily arise from their delaying the Ordination of the Person

## Benedict II. BISHOPS of Rome.

139

Person elected, till the Decree confirming his Election was brought from *Constantinople* to *Rome*; and therefore begged the Emperor, in the Name of St. *Peter*, that since those Inconveniencies, which in the End might prove fatal to the Church, would only be prevented by his allowing the Person elected to be immediately ordained, he would grant that Favour to the Prince of the Apostles, and his Church. With this Demand, however unreasonable, how plainly soever calculated to establish the Independency of the Pope on the Emperor, *Constantine* readily comply'd; and an Edict was issued, address'd to the Clergy, to the People, and to the Army of *Rome* (for the Army too had, as will soon appear, a Right to vote in the Election of the Pope), allowing the Person, whom they should elect, to be thenceforth ordained as soon as elected<sup>f</sup>. Thus did the good and pious *Constantine*, says *Baronius*, out of the great Regard and Veneration he had for the Prince of the Apostles, set at length his Church at Liberty. But her Liberty was, as we shall see, very short-lived; the immediate Successor of *Constantine* thinking he could, by some other means, better shew his Regard and Veneration for the Prince of the Apostles, than by betraying to the Ambition of his Successors his own Dignity, and the Rights of his Crown.

Year of  
Christ 685.

About the same time the Emperor sent to the Pope, as *Anastasi- The Emperor*  
*us* informs us, the Hair of his two Sons *Justinian* and *Heraclius*, <sup>sends the</sup>  
which *Benedict* received attended by the *Roman* Clergy and the <sup>Hair of his</sup>  
Army. What was thereby meant we learn in *Paulus Diaconus*, <sup>two Sons to</sup>  
who in his History of the *Lombards*<sup>h</sup> tells us, that *Charles* King  
of the *Franks* sent his Son *Pepin* to *Luidprand* King of the  
*Lombards*, to have his Hair cut by him, according to Custom, and  
that *Luidprand* having cut it accordingly, became thereby the Fa-  
ther of *Pepin*. The Hair of Children was not cut, in those Days,  
till they attained to a certain Age; and the Person, who first cut  
the Hair of a Child, or to whom it was sent when first cut, became  
thereby the Father of that Child<sup>i</sup>. The Pope therefore by receiving  
the Hair of the two young Princes, became, by a kind of Adoption,  
their Father, and they were to respect and honour him as his  
Children; and it was with that View that *Constantine* sent their  
Hair to the Pope. The cutting of Childrens Hair, which was not

<sup>f</sup> Anast. ibid.    <sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>h</sup> Paul. Diac. de gest. Longobard. l. 6. c. 53.  
<sup>i</sup> Mabill. in præfat. ad Part. prim. Secul. III. Benedictin. n. 27.



Year of  
Christ 685.

done till they attained to a certain Age, was a kind of Religious Ceremony among the Pagans, who used to offer it, when first cut, to some of their Gods. Of them the Christians borrowed that, as they did many other Rites and Ceremonies; and in the *Ordo Romanus* are several Prayers, that were antiently said on that Occasion, and are there called *Orationes ad tonsurandum puerum*. At what time this Ceremony was first adopted by the Church is quite uncertain. But the present is the first Instance of it that occurs in History, tho' it was, as appears from *Paulus Diaconus*, an established Practice in the eighth Century<sup>k</sup>.

Macarius  
chuses rather  
to die in Ex-  
ile, than re-  
nounce his  
Opinion, and  
be restored to  
his See.

This Year died *Theophanes*, who had been appointed Patriarch of *Antioch*, in the room of *Macarius*, deposed for his Obstinacy by the late General Council; and the Pope, thinking that a favourable Opportunity to attempt the Conversion of the exiled Patriarch, sent *Boniface* the ablest of his Counsellors to instruct him, and at the same time to let him know, that if he hearkened to his Instructions, was convinced of his Error, and abjured it, he should be restored to his Liberty and his See. This was, it seems, an irresistible Argument with the Pope; but *Macarius* withstood it to the last, tho' the Pope had allowed him thirty Days to deliberate with himself, and reflect on the Consequences, that would attend his rejecting such an Offer at so critical a Juncture<sup>l</sup>. An obstinate Heretic indeed, whom not even the Offer of his Liberty, of a rich Bishoprick, and the Patriarchal Dignity, could convince of his Error!

*Benedict* died this Year, and on the 7th of *May*, if what *Anastasius* writes be true, viz. that he was ordained on the 26th of *June* 684. and held the See ten Months, and twelve Days<sup>m</sup>. He is said by the Bibliothecarian to have served the Church from his Infancy, to have apply'd himself to the Study of the Scripture, a Study at this time generally neglected, to have been a Man of a mild Disposition, generous to the Poor, and liberal to the Monks and the Clergy<sup>n</sup>. In the *Roman Martyrology* a Place has been allotted him among the Saints. And truly his Attempt towards rendering the See of *Rome* independent of the Emperors, well deserved the greatest Reward, which his Successors in that See could bestow.

<sup>k</sup> Paul. Diac. ubi supra.  
ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Anast. in Benedict. II.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Idem

CONSTANTINE PO-  
GONATUS.  
JUSTINIAN II.

JOHN V. BERTARITH, } Kings of the  
CUNIPERT, } Lombards.

*Eighty-first BISHOP of Rome.*

IN the room of *Benedict* was chosen, and ordained on the 23d John Vth of July 685. when the See had been vacant two Months, and fifteen Days, *John* the Vth of that Name, a Native of *Syria*, and the Son of *Cyriacus*°. He was, while yet a Deacon, one of the three Legates, whom *Agatho* chose to represent him at the sixth General Council; and it was by him, as he understood the *Greek* Tongue, that the *Greek* Copy of the Letters of *Honorius* to *Sergius*, produced and read in the Council, was compared, and found entirely to agree with the *Latin* Original lodged in the Library of the Patriarch P. And hence, by the way, it is manifest, that the *Greek* Copy of those Letters was not altered or falsify'd, as the Bishop of *Cozensa* would make us believe. The new Pope enjoy'd his Dignity but a very short time, only one Year and ten Days; and was almost all the while confined to his Bed. However, being informed, that *Cito-natus*, Archbishop of *Cagliari*, had ordained, without his Leave, *Novellus* Bishop of *Turris Libisonis*, now *Porto di Torre*, in *Sardinia*, he held a Council on so important an Occasion; and by that Council the See of *Porto di Torre* was declared to be under the immediate Jurisdiction of the See of *Rome*¶. And truly the Churches of *Sardinia*, as well as those of *Corfica* and *Sicily*, were all immediately subject to that See, being all comprised under the Name of the Suburbicarian Churches.

The Pope died on the 2d of *August* 686. and was the next Day buried in the Church of *St. Peter*. He is said by *Anastasius* to have left a Legacy of 1900 *Solidi* to the Monks and the Clergy<sup>r</sup>.

In the Pontificate of *John V.* and in the Beginning of the Month of *September*, of the present Year, died *Constantine Pogonatus*, having reigned fifteen Years with his Father *Constans*, and seventeen after his Death, partly with his two Brothers *Heracius* and *Tiberius*, and partly alone. In the first Year of his Reign the *Saracens*, having over-run *Africa*, *Sicily*, and *Cilicia*, committing everywhere dreadful Ravages, and carrying off with them incredible

° Anast. in Joan. V.    ¶ See above, p. 123.    9. Anast. in Joan. V.    r Idem ibid. Numbers

Year of  
Christ 686.

Constanti-  
nople besieg-  
ed in his time  
by the Sara-  
cens.

Their Fleet  
deftroy'd,  
and Army cut  
in Pieces.

They are  
greatly ha-  
rassed by the  
Maronites.

The Emperor  
diverted by  
the unseason-  
able Disputes  
of the Eccle-  
siastics from  
pursuing his  
Conquests.

Numbers of Captives, at last entered *Thrace*, and laid Siege to *Constantinople* itself. The Siege is said to have lasted seven Years, the Enemy withdrawing to *Cyzicus* in the Winter, and renewing their Attacks early in the Spring. This Enterprize cost them dear; and the vigorous Resistance they met with from the Garison, and the Inhabitants, headed and encouraged by the Emperor in Person, obliged them in the End to raise the Siege, and withdraw, after they had lost the Flower of their Army, and the greater Part of their numerous Fleet burnt by a kind of Fire invented by one *Callinicus*, a Native of *Heliopolis*, and called *Sea-fire*, because it burnt under Water. As they were returning home, the remaining Part of their Fleet was shipwrecked off the *Scyllean* Promontory, and their naval Power thereby entirely destroy'd. About the same time three of the Emperor's Generals, *Florus*, *Petronius*, and *Cyprianus*, falling on the Army, which the *Saracens* had in *Syria*, cut 30,000 of them in Pieces, and put the rest to Flight, obliging them to quit the Field, and retire to their Fastnesses and Strongholds<sup>s</sup>.

In the mean time the Inhabitants of Mount *Libanus*, known by the Name of *Maronites*, a brave and warlike People, falling unexpectedly on the *Saracens* in *Phœnicia*, drove them with great Slaughter out of that Province, and, being joined by Multitudes of Christian Captives flocking to them from all Parts, reduced the whole Country between Mount *Maurus* and *Jerusalem*. From thence, in numerous Bodies, they made daily Incursions into the Territories of the Enemy, and, sparing none, who fell into their Hands, Men, Women, nor Children, spread such Consternation and Terror over the whole Country, that the Caliph *Mavias*, despairing of being able, after so many Losses, to contend with them, and at the same time with the *Romans*, began to think of suing for a Peace with the latter, or abandoning his Conquests, if he could not obtain it. And truly had the *Romans* pursued their Success on the one Side, while the *Maronites* pursued theirs on the other; they would have driven the Barbarians, if the Writers of those Times are to be credited,

quite out of the Empire. But *Constantine*, greatly concerned at the Quarrels and Disputes among the Ecclesiastics, who had now for the Space of threescore Years been cursing and damning each other, had long wished for some Respite from his Wars, that he might be at Leisure to reconcile them, to have the important

<sup>s</sup> Theoph. Cedren. &c. ad Ann. Constantin. 5.

Question, that thus divided them, *viz. Whether in Christ there was one Will or two, one Operation or two Operations*, finally determined, and a General Council assembled for that Purpose. A Peace therefore was no sooner proposed by the Caliph, than it was agreed to by the Emperor, and upon the Caliph's own Terms; one of which was, that the *Saracens* should thenceforth quietly enjoy, as their own, all the Provinces which they had seized, and then possessed, *viz. Egypt, Syria, Palestine*, and great Part of *Africa*, the best and most wealthy Provinces of the whole Empire. *Constantine* passed the remaining Part of his Reign in great Peace and Tranquillity; and is highly commended by Pope *Leo II.* and all the Ecclesiastical Writers of those Times, for his Piety, his Religion, and above all for his Christian Zeal in establishing the Catholic Doctrine, and persecuting all, without Mercy, who did not receive it. He was a Man both of Courage and Parts, and would soon have retrieved the Losses, which his Predecessors had sustained from the Enemies of the Christian Name, had he not suffered himself to be diverted by the impertinent Disputes of the Ecclesiastics, from pursuing the War, which he had, for some time, carried on with surprising Success. The Downfal of the Empire is generally ascribed to the Sloth, Indolence, and Inactivity, of the Emperors; but in truth it was not so much owing to their Sloth and Indolence, as to the quarrelsome Humour of the Clergy of those Days, who, being ever at Variance among themselves, ever wrangling and quarrelling, kept the People divided, and the Emperors employ'd in assembling Councils to decide their Disputes, instead of assembling Armies to repress the Barbarians; nay the Ruin of the Empire may be well ascribed to the Controversy, which prevailed at this time, as to its chief and original Cause; for it was while the Emperors were, at the Instigation of the Clergy, wholly intent some on establishing the Doctrine of one Will, and others on promoting the Doctrine of two, in convening Councils for that Purpose, and issuing Edicts, that the *Saracens* gained the Advantages, which enabled them, in Process of Time, to overturn the *Roman* Empire, and raise their own on its Ruins. *Constantine* was succeeded by his Son *Justinian*, of whom I shall have Occasion to speak in the Sequel.

Year of  
Christ 686.

The Down-  
fal of the  
Empire chiefly  
owing to  
the quarrel-  
some Humour  
of the Clergy.

Year of  
Christ 686.

JUSTINIAN II.

C O N O N,

BERTARITH, } Kings of the  
CUNIPERT. } Lombards.

*Eighty-second BISHOP of Rome.*

*Disagree-  
ment between  
the Clergy  
and the Army  
in the Ele-  
ction of a new  
Pope.*

THE Death of *John Vth* was attended with some Disturbances, occasioned by the Disagreement of the Clergy and the Army in the Election of his Successor. The Clergy all declared for *Peter* the Archpriest, and went to the *Lateran* Church with a Design to chuse him. But the Army, declaring for a Priest named *Theodore*, sent some of their Body to guard the Gates of the *Lateran*, and prevent the Clergy from assembling there, while the rest met in the Church of *St. Stephen*. The Clergy, finding the Entry into the Church guarded by the Soldiery, assembled daily at the Gate; and thence sent Deputies, as often as they met, to treat of an Agreement with the Army. But the Negotiations not succeeding, and the Proposals of the one Party, as they were both alike inspired, being constantly rejected by the other, the Clergy, at length, entering the *Lateran* Palace, chose with one Voice a Third Person, the Presbyter *Conon*, a Native of *Sicily*, and a Man, says *Anastasius*, venerable for his Angelic Aspect, and grey Hairs, but more for his Piety, the Simplicity of his Manners, the Sweetness of his Temper, and the reproachless Life, which he had led to a great Age, having never concerned himself with Secular Affairs <sup>u</sup>. His Election, continues *Anastasius*, was no sooner known, than the Judges and the chief Citizens went and acknowledged him, applauding with loud Acclamations the Choice of the Clergy. In the mean time the Army, finding the People and the Clergy thus unanimous in electing *Conon*, and signing the Decree of his Election, yielded a few Days after; and they too signed the Decree, and sent, according to Custom, their Messengers to the most Excellent Exarch *Theodore* with the Messengers of the People and the Clergy <sup>w</sup>. From this Account it appears, I. That *Justinian*, no doubt, apprised of the dangerous Consequences, that in time might attend the Popes being ordained without the Knowledge and Consent of the Emperors, or their Ministers, had, in the very Beginning of his Reign, revoked the Edict, which *Benedict II.* had obtained of the late Emperor, allowing the Popes to be ordained as soon as elected; and that the Power of confirming the Election of the new Pope was again

*His Election  
approved by  
the Army.*

*In what man-  
ner the Pope  
was elected at  
this time, and  
by whom his  
Election ap-  
proved.*

<sup>u</sup> Anast. in Conon.

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.

vested in the Exarch of *Italy*. II. That the Army, or the Troops quartered in *Rome*, and garisoning that City, had a Right to vote in the Election of the Pope, as well as the Clergy and the People. III. That the Clergy elected in the First Place, or named the Person; that the Person named or elected by them was to be approved of by the Judges or Magistrates of *Rome*, by the Heads of the People, and by the Army; and that the Decree of his Election was to be signed by all, and sent thus signed to the Exarch by their respective Deputies. IV. That the Magistrates, the People, and the Army, declared their Approbation and Consent by their Acclamations, and by saluting the new Pope, that is, as is commonly thought, by kissing his Foot: <sup>Year of Christ 686.</sup> For that Practice was introduced pretty early; and *Anastasius* tells us, <sup>The Custom of kissing his Foot.</sup> that the Clergy of *Rome* having in 827. elected *Valentine*, the *Roman* Senate and the People declared their Approbation and Consent by saluting the new Pope, and kissing his Feet, according to Custom. He repeats the same thing in speaking of the Election of *Leo IV.* chosen in 847 \*. At what time this Ceremony was first introduced is quite uncertain; but certain it is, that it was yet practised only on Occasion of the Election of a new Pope, and by the *Romans* only, who elected him; the Popes not being arrived, till some Ages after, to such a Height of Pride and Presumption as to require all, who approached them, excepting crowned Heads, and Cardinals, whom they equal to crowned Heads, to fall down at their Feet, and kiss them.

To return to *Conon*; his Election being universally approved, and *Conon* confirmed by the Exarch, he was ordained on the 22d of *October*, <sup>dained.</sup> when the See had been vacant 2 Months, and 17 Days. As the Exarchs were again impowered to confirm the Election of the Pope, from this time to their Expulsion, which happened in the following Century, the See was never vacant above Three Months; whereas it had sometimes remained vacant almost a whole Year, when the Election was to be confirmed by the Emperor himself.

*Conon* received, some Months after his Ordination, a Letter from <sup>The Emperor's Letter to the Pope.</sup> the Emperor *Justinian*, dated the 7th of *February* 687. and addressed to his Predecessor *John V.* By that Letter the Emperor acquainted the Pope, that he had assembled the Patriarchs, and all the Bishops and Metropolitans, then at *Constantinople*, with the Nuncio of the <sup>Year of Christ 687.</sup>

\* Idem in *Valentin. et Leon. IV.*

Year of  
Christ 687.

Apostolic See, the Senate, the Heads of the People, and the Officers of the Palace, of the Guards, and of the Armies quartered in the different Provinces of the Empire; that in their Presence he had caused the Acts of the late General Council to be read; that he had required all, who were present, to sign them; and that, to prevent their being, at any time, interpolated, altered, or corrupted, he had ordered them thus signed to be carefully sealed up, and lodged in the Imperial Palace. These Precautions did the Emperor think necessary to preserve the Acts of a Council, held but Five Years before, free from all Corruption: To such a Degree did the Practice of altering, corrupting, and interpolating all Sorts of Writings prevail at this time.

The Taxes  
paid by the  
Patrimonies  
of the Roman  
Church less-  
ened.

Kilian sent to  
preach the  
Gospel at  
Wirtzburg.

Conon diss.

Conon enjoyed his new Dignity but a very short time; and all we read of him is, that he obtained of the Emperor two Rescripts lessening the Taxes paid by the Patrimonies or Estates of the *Roman* Church in the Country of the *Brutii*, and in *Sicily*; and that he sent *Kilian*, a *Scotch* Monk, to preach the Gospel at *Herbipolis*, now *Wirtzburg* in *Franconia*, where the new Apostle converted and baptized *Gozbert*, Duke or Prince of that Country, and all his People. The Pope died on the 21. of *September* of the present Year, after a Pontificate of Eleven Months, and was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*. Pope *Nicholas I.* in a Letter, which he wrote to the Emperor *Michael*, supposes the *Apocrisarii* of *Conon* at the Court of *Constantinople* to have been forced by *Justinian* to renounce the true Faith, and embrace the Errors, which the Emperor professed. But as *Justinian* is commended by the contemporary Historians, and even by the Bibliothecarian, as a most Christian and Orthodox Prince, and no Mention is made by the Writers of those Times of any Kind of Violence used by him with the *Apocrisarii* of *Conon*, a Pope, whom he greatly favoured, as we have seen, we may well conclude with *F. Pagi*, that Pope *Nicholas* mistook both the Pope, whose *Apocrisarii* were forced to renounce the true Faith, and the Emperor, who forced them. *Binius* indeed, and *Baronius*, unwilling that a Pope should be thought capable of erring even in point of History, take it for granted, that *Justinian* was a professed Heretic; but neither can tell us what Heresy he professed. It is true, the Officers of the Em-

<sup>1</sup> Anast. in Conon.

<sup>2</sup> Vit. S. Kilian. per Henric. Canis. Antiq. Lectio. l. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Vit. S. Just. in Secul. 2<sup>a</sup> Benedictin.

<sup>4</sup> Anast. in Conon.

<sup>5</sup> Nicho. I.

<sup>6</sup> Pagi ad Ann. 686. n. 7.

## Sergius. BISHOPS of Rome.

147

peror quarrelled with *Constantine*, Deacon of the Church of *Syracuse*, whom *Conon* had appointed Steward of the Patrimony of the *Roman* Church in *Sicily*, treated him very roughly, and even threw him into Prison <sup>d</sup>. But the Treatment he met with from them was owing to his litigious Temper, his exorbitant Claims, and unjust Prosecutions; which obliged the Imperial Officers to keep him confined, since the Pope did not think proper to remove him. In that Quarrel the Emperor was no-ways concerned, nor was he, probably, acquainted with it.

*Conon* left no Writings behind him, that we know of, and none have even been ascribed to him. At his Death he bequeathed the same Sum to the Monks and the Clergy, says *Anastasius*, that had been bequeathed to them by his Predecessor *Benedict* II. that is 30 Pounds Weight of Gold <sup>e</sup>.

JUSTINIAN II.  
LEONTIUS,  
TIBERIUS APSIMARUS.

SERGIUS, BERTARITH, }  
CUNIPERT, } *Kings of the Lombards.*

### *Eighty-third* BISHOP of Rome.

*CONON* being dead, the People were divided about the Election of his Successor, and a Schism ensued, some declaring for *Theodore* the Archpriest, and some for *Paschal* the Archdeacon. *Theodore*, with his Friends, possessed himself of one Part of the *Lateran* Palace, for there the Popes resided; and *Paschal*, with his, took Possession of the other. The Judges, or Magistrates of *Rome*, strove for some time to bring the two Parties to an Agreement; but finding they strove in vain, and that neither could be prevailed upon to yield to the other, they left both in the *Lateran*, and assembling with some of the People in the Sacred or Imperial Palace (for by that Epithet the Palace of the Emperor was distinguished then, as the Pope's is now) chose there, with one Consent, a Third Person, *viz. Sergius* Presbyter of the *Roman* Church; and, carrying him in Triumph to the

<sup>d</sup> Anast. in Conon.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.



Year of  
Christ 687.

*Lateran*, forced the Gates, and put him in Possession of the Place. Hereupon *Theodore* gave up his Claim, acknowledged *Sergius*, and joined him with all his Party. But by the Archdeacon *Paschal* a private Agreement had been made with *John*, surnamed *Platys*, the new Exarch, in virtue of which the Archdeacon was to deliver up to the Exarch the 30 Pounds Weight of Gold, which the late Pope had bequeathed to the Monks and the Clergy; and on that Consideration the Exarch was to get him chosen Pope. *Paschal* therefore, instead of acquiescing, as *Theodore* had done, in the Election of *Sergius*, dispatched a Messenger to the Exarch at *Ravenna* to acquaint him with the State of his Affairs, and press him to repair to *Rome* in Person, and with all possible Expedition, to support his Interest there against his new Competitor. The Messenger no sooner arrived at *Ravenna*, than the Exarch, loth to lose the promised Sum, set out from thence, and travelling with great Expedition, arrived so unexpectedly in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, that the Soldiery had scarce time to go out, according to Custom, to meet him, nor the Citizens and Clergy to receive him with the usual Marks of Distinction. On his Arrival in the City he found that in the mean time *Paschal* had been forced to acknowledge *Sergius*, that thereupon most of his Party had abandoned him, and consequently that it would be in vain for him to attempt any-thing in his Favour. He therefore attempted nothing. But, determined not to be disappointed, if *Paschal* was, he insisted on *Sergius's* paying him 100 Pounds Weight of Gold before he confirmed his Election. *Sergius* was very unwilling to comply with so exorbitant a Demand; the rather as the late Emperor had, out of his great Regard to the Prince of the Apostles, exempted his Successors from paying the usual Sum for the Decree confirming their Election: But the Exarch, who had not the same Regard for the Prince of the Apostles, absolutely refusing to sign the Decree till the demanded Sum was paid him, *Sergius* was, in the End, forced to comply, and to pawn the very Ornaments of the Tomb of St. *Peter*, to satisfy the Exarch, and secure to himself the Possession of the See <sup>f</sup>.

Obliged to  
pay a large  
Sum to the  
Exarch for  
his Confirmation.

Sergius ordained.  
Year of  
Christ 688.

The Election of *Sergius* being thus confirmed, he was ordained on the 15th of *December*, after a Vacancy of Two Months and Twenty-four Days. He was descended of a *Syrian* Family, but born in the City of *Palermo* in *Sicily*. He came first to *Rome* in the time of

<sup>f</sup> Anast. in Serg.

Sergius.

## BISHOPS of Rome.

149

Pope *Adeodatus*, chosen in 672. and entering among the Clergy there, he was ordained Priest by *Leo II.* and Seven Years after raised to the Episcopal Dignity in the manner we have seen g. He no sooner found himself in the quiet Possession of the See than he deposed the Archdeacon his Competitor, charged with practising Magic; and ordered him to be shut up in a Monastery, where he died impenitent, says *Anastasius*, Five Years after h.

Year of  
Christ 688.

He shuts up  
his Com-  
petitor in a  
Monastery.

In the second Year of the Pontificate of *Sergius*, arrived at *Rome* *Ceadwalla*, King of the *West-Saxons*. He had governed that Kingdom only two Years; but, being a Prince remarkable for his Prowess and Bravery, he had, in so short a time, greatly extended its Limits by many signal Advantages gained over the Kings of *Suffex* and *Kent* i. As he was not yet baptized, though he professed the Christian Religion, and was even for propagating it with Fire and Sword (C), he resolved to go to *Rome* to receive Baptism there at the Hands of the Pope. Pursuant to that Resolution, he left his Kingdom in the Height of his Glory, and set out on his Journey. He was every-where received by the Princes, through whose Dominions he passed, with all the Marks of Distinction, that were due to his Rank, especially by *Cunipert*, King of the *Lombards*, who entertained him in a most magnificent manner k. He arrived at *Rome* a little before *Easter*, and, being received by *Sergius* with all possible Demonstrations of Respect and Esteem, he was baptized by him on the Eve of that Festival; and he took at his Baptism the Name of *Peter*, no doubt to shew his Regard for the Apostle of that Name, and earn his Protection. He had, as *Bede* informs us, all along wished to die soon after his Baptism; and he had his Wish; for while

*Ceadwalla*  
King of the  
West-  
Saxons ar-  
rives at  
Rome.

Is baptized by  
the Pope, and  
dies soon  
after.

g Idem ibid.  
l. 5. c. 14.

h Idem ibid.

i Bed. l. 4. c. 15.

k Paul. Diac.

(C) Having reduced the Isle of *Wight*, and finding that the Inhabitants were still Pagans, he was for putting them all to the Sword, and planting a Colony of Christians in their room. However, from that barbarous Resolution he suffered himself to be diverted by the famous *Wilfrid*; but it was upon condition, that they embraced the Christian Religion; which they all readily

did, chusing rather to be baptized, than to be put to the Sword (1). Thus, says *Bede*, after all the Provinces of *Britain* had received the Faith of Christ, the Isle of *Wight* received it too (2), or rather pretended to receive it. Of such Methods of Preaching, and such Conversions, but too many Instances occur in the History of the Church.

(1) Bed. l. 4. c. 16.

(2) Idem ibid.

Year of  
Christ 688.

he yet wore his white Garment, *in albis adhuc positus* (D), he was suddenly seized with a Faintness, and died on the 20th of *April* of the present Year, being then only about thirty Years old<sup>k</sup>. In the early Ages of the Church, it was a common Practice with the Catechumens to put off their Baptism to the End of their Lives, that they might not fall into Sin after it, but go pure and undefiled to Heaven: And it was, as appears from *Bede*, on that Consideration, that *Ceadwalla* wished to die as soon as he was baptized. He wished to die, says that Writer, immediately after his Baptism, that he might pass to eternal Bliss, cleansed from all his Sins<sup>l</sup>: and it was, probably, on the same Consideration that he had so long delay'd his Baptism, tho' otherwise a great Zealot, and, in his Way, even an Apostle.

Pilgrimages  
to Rome  
thought highly  
meritorious.

As for his Resolution of going to *Rome*, it was owing to the Opinion, that began to prevail here at this time, of the extraordinary Merit and Holiness of Pilgrimages to the supposed Tombs of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. As such Pilgrimages proved very profitable to the Popes, the *Romish* Missionaries spared no Pains to encourage them; they even persuaded their credulous Profelytes, as may be gathered from *Bede*, that all, who travelled to *Rome*, to visit the Tombs of the Apostles, and died there, went strait to Heaven. For that Historian, speaking of the Journey of *Ceadwalla* to *Rome*, tells us, that the King had ardently desired to be baptized at the Tombs of the Apostles, and to die at *Rome*, having learnt (no doubt, of the *Romish* Missionaries, for who but they could have taught him such a Lesson?) that from the Ground, where their Tombs stood, the Entry into Heaven was open to all Mankind<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Bed. l. 5. c. 7.

<sup>l</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.

(D) All Persons newly baptized were antiently cloathed in white Garments, to signify their having put off the old Man with his Deeds, and having put on the new Man Christ Jesus. Hence they were called the White Flock of Christ, *grex Christi candidus et niveus* (1). These Garments were commonly delivered to the Neophytes, with a solemn Form of Words, in the Nature of a Charge; such as that, which we read in the *Sacramentarium* of

Pope Gregory; *Receive the white and unspotted Garment, which thou mayest produce without Spot before the Tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou mayest have eternal Life. Amen* (2). These Garments were commonly worn eight Days, and then laid up, and carefully preserved in the Vestries of the Church, to be produced as an Evidence against such as should not observe the Promises which they had made at their Baptism.

(1) *Lact. Car. de Resurrect. Domini.*

(2) *Greg. Sacramenta. de Bapt. Infant.*

The superstitious Practice of travelling to *Rome* was first introduced among the *English* by *Wilfrid*, who, being yet a Youth, undertook a Journey to *Rome*, says *Eddius Stephanus* in his Life, to see the Chair of *St. Peter*; attempting, with that Design, a Way never before trodden by any of his Nation<sup>a</sup>. That Journey *Wilfrid* undertook in the Year 658. and before he died, he had the Satisfaction of seeing his Example followed by incredible Numbers of his Countrymen, travelling to *Rome*, to visit the holy Places there; and in the mean time, leaving their Families to shift for themselves. It was not only among the Men, but among the Women as well as the Men, that this Humour prevailed. And what Fruit the Female Pilgrims reaped from their Pilgrimages, we learn from a Letter written, about the middle of the eighth Century, by *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, to *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*: In that Letter *Boniface*, who was himself a Native of *England*, and had the Honour of his Country at heart, advises *Cuthbert* to get the Pilgrimages of Women to *Rome*, by all means, forbidden, either by the Kings, or a Synod, *because most of the Women*, says he, *perish in the Undertaking*, that is, forfeit their Virtue, *there being scarce a City in France or Lombardy, where some Adulteress, or Prostitute, is not to be found of the English Nation*<sup>b</sup>; so that the Effect of this Devotion in the *English* Women, was to supply with Prostitutes the *French* and *Lombards*, through whose Countries they passed. However, it does not appear, that *Cuthbert* ever offered to forbid it, or to get it forbidden.

Year of  
Christ 688.

First introduced among  
the English  
by Wilfrid.

The bad effects of this  
Devotion in  
Women.

To return to *Ceadwalla*; as he died at *Rome*, he was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, where *Sergius* caused a stately Monument to be erected to his Memory, with an Epitaph partly in Verse, and partly in Prose, giving an Account of his Name, Quality, and Age, of the Motives of his Journey to *Rome*, and the Time of his Death<sup>p</sup>.

Ceadwalla  
buried in the  
Church of  
St. Peter.

No further Mention is made of *Sergius* till the Year 691. when a new Council was assembled by the Emperor *Justinian*, which occasioned a Misunderstanding between him and the Pope. As no Canons or Laws relating to Discipline had been made by the two last General Councils, the fifth and the sixth, and several Abuses prevailed, at this time, in the different Churches; the Emperor, by

A new Council  
assembled  
by the Em-  
peror.

Year of  
Christ 691.

<sup>a</sup> Edd. Stephan. in Vit. Wilfrid. c. 3.      <sup>b</sup> Bonif. Ep. Concil. Brit. vol. 1. p. 241.  
et ap. Bar. ad Ann. 740.      <sup>p</sup> Bed. 1. 5. c. 7.

Year of  
Christ 691.

the Advice of the chief Bishops in the East, assembled a Council to correct those Abuses, and establish among the Churches an entire Conformity in point of Discipline, as well as of Faith. This Council is commonly styled Synodus *Quinisexta*, or the *Quinisext Council*, in Greek *πενθέκτη*, to shew, that it is only a kind of Appendix, or Supplement, to the fifth and sixth General Councils. And indeed it consisted mostly of the same Bishops, who had assisted at the sixth General Council, and its Canons are commonly quoted as the Canons of that Council. It is also called by the *Latins*, *Synodus Trullana*, and *Synodus in Trullo*, from the Place where it met, the great Hall of the Imperial Palace, built in the Form of a *Cupola*, and therefore called *Trullus*, the Place where the Fathers of the sixth Council had met ten Years before<sup>q</sup>. The Council consisted, according to some, of 240 Bishops, according to others, of 217; but the present Copies are only signed by 211. Among these are *Paul* of *Constantinople*, *Peter* of *Alexandria*, *George* of *Antioch*, *Anastasius* of *Jerusalem*, *John* of *New Justinianopolis*, and *Basilus* of *Gortina*, the Metropolis of *Crete*, who had been appointed by *Agatho* his Vicar in the East, and therefore stiled himself the Representative, or Legate, of the holy *Roman* Church. It does not appear, as *De Marca* observes<sup>r</sup>, that extraordinary Legates were appointed by the Pope to assist at this Council in his Name. But certain it is, that the *Apocrisarii* of the *Roman* See, who resided at *Constantinople*, were present, and signed, with the rest, the ninety-two Canons, that were issued by the Council to restore the decay'd Discipline, and correct the Abuses, that had crept into the Church.

The Pope excepts against some of the Canons of that Council.

*Sergius*, however, excepted against five of those Canons; viz. the second, the thirteenth, the fifty-fifth, the sixty-seventh, and the eighty-second. By the second Canon, the Bishops of the Council approved and received the eighty-five Canons, that were ascribed to the Apostles; and had been, they say, approved and received by the Fathers. But by Pope *Gelasius* they had been judged apocryphal, and no-ways binding; and in his Judgment *Sergius* chose rather to acquiesce, than in that of all the other Patriarchs, and so many Bishops.

<sup>q</sup> See above, p. 107.

<sup>r</sup> *De Marca* de Concord. l. 5. c. 18.

By a Canon or Law of the *Roman Church*, the Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons, promised, at the time of their Ordination, thenceforth to forbear all Commerce with their Wives. But that Practice the Council condemned by their thirteenth Canon, not only as a Deviation from the Apostolical Canons, but as expressly forbidden by our Saviour in these Words, *What God hath joined together, let no Man put asunder*<sup>s</sup>; and by his Apostle St. Paul saying, *Art thou bound unto a Wife? seek not to be loosed*<sup>t</sup>. They therefore command that Practice to be absolutely suppressed; and after great Commendations on Marriage, as having been instituted by God, and sanctify'd by our Saviour with his own Presence, they close this Canon with the following Words; *If any one shall henceforth presume, against the Apostolical Canons, to deprive the Clergy of the lawful Company of their Wives, let him be deposed*. Thus the Fathers of the present Council. And here we may observe by the way, 1st, That the Pope was not yet, so late as the latter End of the seventh Century, thought to be an infallible Guide in point of Manners (for the Popes now pretend to be as incapable of erring in dictating what is to be done, as in dictating what is to be believed); else the Council would not have presumed to declare a Practice established by the Decrees of several Popes, and recommended by them as the Height of all Christian Perfection, to be contrary to the express Command of our Saviour, and to condemn it as such. 2dly, That the Fathers of the Council thought themselves impowered, not only to make Laws that were binding, with respect to the Pope, but even to depose him, if he did not obey the Laws they had made. For it was chiefly against the Pope the above-mentioned Canon was levelled, as it was chiefly by him the Abuse was countenanced, which gave occasion to that Canon: And hence it is manifest, that the Doctrine, asserting the Superiority of the Pope to a General Council, had not yet been heard of; but, on the contrary, that the Bishop of *Rome* was thought as liable to be judged, censured, and deposed by a General Council, as any other Bishop.

- By the fifty-fifth Canon the Practice of fasting on *Saturdays*, observed in the *Roman Church*, was forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication for the Laity, and Deposition for the Clergy. By the sixty-seventh, the Laity, as well as the Clergy, were commanded,

Year of  
Christ 691.

The Council  
condemns  
a Practice  
established by  
the Laws of  
the Roman  
Church.

Fasting on  
Saturdays  
forbidden,  
tho' practised  
at Rome.

<sup>s</sup> Matth. c. xix. ver. 6.

<sup>t</sup> 1 Corinth. c. vii. ver. 27.

Year of  
Christ 691.

likewise on Pain of Excommunication and Deposition, to abstain from Things suffocated, and from Blood; and by the eighty-second Christ was not to be painted in the Form of a Lamb, but only of a Man, because, in the Form of a Man, he had fulfilled all other Types.

All the Canons of the Council rejected by the Pope.

With these five Canons the Pope was so displeased, especially with the thirteenth and the fifty-fifth, condemning Practices established by his Predecessors, and observed by all the Churches subject to his See, that on account of them he rejected all the rest; and, declaring the Proceedings of the Council void and null, he would not even suffer the Copy, which the Emperor had sent to *Rome* to be signed by him, to be read in his Presence, tho' signed by *Justinian* himself, by the other four Patriarchs, by his own Legates, and by all the Bishops of the Council. This Behaviour in the Pope the Emperor look'd upon as the Height of Arrogance and Presumption; and he was therefore no sooner informed of it, than, resolved to teach him the Regard that was due to the Authority of a General Council and his own, he dispatched *Zachary*, his *Protospatharius*, or chief Sword-bearer, into *Italy*, with an Order to apprehend the

The Emperor orders the Pope to be seized, and sent Prisoner to Constantinople.

Year of  
Christ 692.

The Soldiery declare in his Favour, and drive the Officer sent to apprehend him out of Rome.

Pope, and bring him Prisoner to *Constantinople*. But that Order was no sooner known in *Italy*, and it was known almost as soon in all the Countries subject to the Emperor in *Italy*, as it was in *Rome*, than the Soldiery, whose Favour the Popes had of late taken Care to court and earn with their Largesses, declaring they would suffer no kind of Violence to be offered to the Pope, marched from all Parts to protect and defend him. As they approached *Rome*, the *Protospatharius*, a Man more fit to bear the Sword than to use it, dreading the Consequences of their entering the City, and his falling into their Hands, fled in the utmost Consternation to the Palace of the Pope, and, throwing himself at his Feet, begged with Tears in his Eyes, that his Holiness would take Pity of him, that he would cause the Gates of the City to be shut, and allow him, for his greater Safety, an Apartment in his own Palace. The Pope, in Compliance with his Request, immediately ordered the Gates to be shut; but Part of the Army had already entered the City, and, appearing unexpectedly at the Gates of the *Lateran* Palace, insisted, with great Noise and Menaces, on their seeing the Pope; a Report being spread, that he had been convey'd away the Night before. The sudden Appearance of the Army so terrify'd the *Protospatharius*, that, thinking himself no-where else safe, he took Refuge under

Sergius.

## BISHOPS of Rome.

155

der the Pope's Bed, and there lay quiet and concealed, till the Pope, shewing himself to the Multitude, and returning Thanks to the Army for their Zeal, appeased their Rage, and persuaded them to retire. The Army however, took care, before they left *Rome*, to drive the *Protospatharius*, loaded with Reproaches and Curses, out of the City <sup>u</sup>. These Proceedings the Emperor, however provoked, thought it adviseable to dissemble for the present, and wait till a more favourable Opportunity offered, of wreaking his Vengeance on the Mutineers, as well as the Pope, whom he charged with seducing the Army from their Allegiance and Duty. But in the mean time *Justinian* was deposed, and *Sergius* died before his Restoration (F).

Year of  
Christ 692.

The following Year *Sergius* wrote to the *English* Kings, recommending *Berctwald*, *Britwald*, or *Brightwald*, the new Archbishop of *Canterbury* (G), to their Protection. The Direction of the Letter was, *Sergius Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to Ethelred, Alfrid, Adulph, Kings of the English* <sup>w</sup>. Of these Kings we know nothing besides their Names. At the same time the Pope wrote

The Pope recommends the new Archbishop of Canterbury to the English.  
Year of  
Christ 693.

<sup>u</sup> Anast. in Serg. Bed. l. de Sex Ætat. Paul. Diacon. l. 6. c. 11.  
<sup>de</sup> Pontificib. l. 1. p. 209.

<sup>w</sup> Malmfb.

(F) *Justinian* being universally hated, on account of his Cruelty, and the Cruelty of his two former Ministers, *Stephen* and *Theodorus*; *Leontius* the Patrician, encouraged by the Patriarch *Callinicus*, whom the Emperor had ordered to be murdered, and by two Monks, who, pretending to be skilled in Astronomy, assured him of Success, took upon him the Title of Emperor, and without meeting with the least Opposition, seized on *Justinian*, and carrying him in Triumph to the *Circus*, caused his Nose to be there publicly cut off, and banished him to *Chersona*. At the same time the two favourite Ministers were dragged to the *Forum*, and there burnt alive (1).

(G) *Berctwald* succeeded the famous *Theodore* in the See of *Canterbury*, and was the first of the *English* Nation honoured with that Dignity. He was chosen on the First of *July* 692. after a Vacancy

of seventeen Months, and some Days; was ordained on the 29th of *June* of the following Year, not by the Pope, as the Bibliothecarian supposes (2), but by *Godwin*, whom *Bede* styles the Metropolitan of *Gaul* (3); and he took Possession of his See on the last Day of *August* of the same Year (4). What occasioned so long a Delay between the Death of *Theodore*, and the Election of his Successor, between the Election of his Successor and his Ordination, we are no-where told. The new Archbishop was, at the time of his Election, Abbot of *Raculph*, in the Kingdom of *Kent*; and is commended by *Bede*, as a Man well versed in the Scriptures, and thoroughly acquainted with the Affairs of the Church (5).

As for *Theodore*, he died on the 19th of *September* 690. being then in the 88th or 89th Year of his Age, and the 22d of his Episcopacy; for he was sixty-six when

(1) Niceph. in hist. Theoph. ad Ann. secund. Alex. 686. Cedren. ad Ann. Just. 19.  
(2) Anast. in Sergio. (3) Bed. l. 5. c. 9. (4) Idem ibid. (5) Idem ibid.



Year of  
Christ 693.

wrote to the *English* Bishops, exhorting them to pay the Obedience that was due to their new Primate \*. *William of Malmesbury* is the

\* Malf. de Pontificib. l. i. p. 209.

named by *Vitalian* in 668. to the See of *Canterbury*; and he governed that Church 22 Years, and some Months. His Life has been written by Father *Mabillon*, chiefly out of *Bede* (5), and to him I refer the Reader, observing only here, that if what *Eddius Stephanus*, a contemporary Writer, says of him be true, he can have no kind of Claim to the Honours, that are now paid to him in the Church of *Rome*, as a Saint: For *Eddius* tells us, that in the Quarrel between the King of *Northumberland* and *Wilfrid* (6) *Theodore* was, with rich Presents, prevailed upon or bribed by the King to side with him against that Prelate; and that he himself owned, as his End approached, that he had, on that Occasion, acted with the utmost Injustice, and contrary to the Dictates of his Conscience, being fully satisfied, in his own Mind, that *Wilfrid* was unjustly persecuted at the very time he concurred with the King in deposing, banishing, and stripping him of his Wealth as well as his Dignity. This *Theodore* confessed, as the same Historian assures us, to *Wilfrid* himself in the Presence of *Erchenwald* Bishop of *London*; and, touched with Remorse, would have named him, had *Wilfrid* agreed to it, for his Successor in the See of *Canterbury*, to repair, by that means, the Injury he had done him, and atone, in the best manner he could, for so heinous a Sin (7). *Bede* however, who lived some time after, and either was not acquainted with these Transactions, or, partial to the Memory of *Theodore*, as *Pagi* insinuates (8), passed them over in Silence, speaks of him with great Commendations; and upon his Authority *Theodore* has been sainted, and a Place allowed him on the 19th of *September*, the Day of his Death, in the *Roman* Martyrology (9).

As for the famous *Penitential* of *Theodore*, the Reader will find a summary Account of it in the Collection of the *English* Councils published by *Spelman*. It was the first Work of the Kind that appeared in the West; and contains, under 14

Titles, a great many Canons, copied partly from the *Greek* Councils, and partly from the *Latin*. But the Copies, that have reached our Times, are generally thought neither to be intire, nor quite uncorrupted and genuine. And truly some of the Canons in the *Penitential* allow what was expressly forbidden by the Canons of the Council of *Herudford*, at which Council *Theodore* presided, and whose Canons he signed: For, by the tenth and last Canon of that Council, a Man is allowed to put away his Wife in case of Adultery, but, at the same time, forbidden to marry again; whereas one of the Canons in the *Penitential* allows the Man to marry again; and likewise the Woman, whom he has put away, after two Years of Penance. Besides, several Things are permitted by the *Penitential* contrary to the Practice of all Christian Churches in those times. Thus, for Instance, it is said in the eleventh Chapter, that if the Husband is carried into Captivity, the Woman may marry again in the Term of a Year; and so may the Husband, if his Wife is carried into Captivity; that a Convert from Paganism may, after his Baptism, put away his Wife, if she does not embrace the Christian Religion; that if the Wife elopes, the Husband may, in the Term of five Years, marry another: The Copy of the *Penitential*, published by *F. Dachery* is commonly thought to be of all others the most authentic and genuine (10). But even in that Copy are some Canons, that do not agree with the Canons of the Council of *Herudford*, which *Bede* assures us were approved by *Theodore* and all the Bishops present at that Council (11).

*Theodore* had the Satisfaction, before he died, of seeing the *Romish* Ceremonies established all over *England*, the Churches of the *Scotch* Establishment, and those of the *Roman*, united in one Church, notwithstanding their former Animosities, and the Authority of his See acknowledged by both.

(5) Mabill. Secul. 2<sup>o</sup> Benedictin.

*Wilfrid*. c. 41.  
Septemb.

(6) See above, p. 96.

(8) *Pagi* ad ann. 690. n. v.

(10) *Dachery* Spicileg. t. 9.

(7) *Edd.* in Vit.

(9) *Martyrol. Rom.* die 19.

(11) *Bed.* l. 4. c. 5.

into his Life and Conduct. The Council met at *Onestresfield*, a Place Five Miles North of *Rippon*; and were present at it King *Alfred* in Person, *Berctwald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and almost all the Bishops, says *Eddius*, of the Isle of *Britain*, meaning, no doubt, the *English* Bishops; for the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and the *Britons*, still declined all Communion or Intercourse with the *English*, on account of their different Rites and Ceremonies. The Council being met, *Wilfrid* was summoned to appear before them; and, upon his appearing, several Crimes were laid to his Charge, which the Author of his Life has not thought fit to specify. But the Council, after hearing both him and his Accusers, pronounced him guilty with one Voice, and as such deposed him of his Episcopal Dignity, and, at the same time, of all the Possessions, which he held either in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, or in that of *Northumberland*. Such were the Determination and Judgment of the Council. But the Bishops, who composed it, and the King himself, touched with Compassion, and inclined to favour *Wilfrid* so far as they thought it consistent with the Peace of the Church and the Kingdom, that he might not be left quite destitute in his old Age, offered to restore to him the Abbey of *Rippon*, with all its Wealth and its Revenues, but upon the following Conditions; I. That he should renounce all Claim to the See of *York*. II. That he should thenceforth forbear all the Functions of the Episcopal Office. III. That he should retire to his Abbey, and never stir beyond the Bounds of his Monastery without Leave from the King. And lastly, That he should declare, in the Presence of the Council, both by Word of Mouth, and in Writing, his Consent and Agreement to these Terms, without any Limitation or Restriction whatever. *Wilfrid* was not more provoked, says the Author of his Life, at the Sentence of the Council, than at what they called a Mitigation of the Sentence. He put them in mind of the great Services he had done to the *English* Church, especially in bringing the *Northumbrians*, though converted by the *Scots*, to conform to the Rites and Usages of *Rome*; urged the Decrees of three Popes, *viz.* of *Agatho*, *Benedict*, and *Sergius*, declaring him innocent, and restoring him to his See; and challenging those, who had condemned him, to justify their Conduct at the Tribunal of the Pope, he appealed from their Judgment to his. But his Appeal stood him in no stead; nay it only served to aggravate his Guilt, and complete his Ruin: For the King and the Archbishop, thinking his thus appealing from their Judgment to that of

Year of  
Christ 703.

He appeals to  
the Pope.

Which serves  
only to aggra-  
vate his

Guilt, and  
complete his  
the Ruin.

Year of  
Christ 703.

the Pope and his Council, as great a Crime as any, that had been yet laid to his Charge, declared, that were he guilty of no other, he well deserved, and ought to be condemn'd for that alone (G). The King added with great Indignation, that, if the Council approved of it, he would find Means to make the refractory Priest retract his Appeal, and acquiesce in the Judgment of the Council. But the Council had promised, that no Violence should be offered to his Person; and therefore would not consent, that any should be used. However, to assert their Authority, and give to the World the most remarkable Instance they could of their acknowledging no Power superior to their own, they solemnly, and with one Consent, excommunicated *Wilfrid*, and with him all his Friends and Adherents; nay, and declared, that if an Abbot or Priest of his Party should bless the Meat of any Christian People, it should be looked upon as Meat offered to Idols; and that the sacred Vessels themselves, used by them, should be deemed defiled, and by no others used till they were again blessed and purified<sup>s</sup>.

He goes to  
Rome.

*Wilfrid*, thus deposed and excommunicated by the Council, returned, as soon as it broke up, to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and being there received with great Kindness by *Ethelred*, who still continued his Friend, and assured, that the Sentence of the Council should not take Place in his Dominions, unless the Pope, to whom he had appealed, confirmed it, he set out soon after, though then Seventy Years old, on his Journey to *Rome*. On his Arrival in that City he was immediately introduced to the Pope, and prostrating himself at his Feet, "Being persecuted at home," said he, "I have fled for Protection to the Apostolic See, as to the Bosom of a tender Mother. I am not come to accuse others, but to defend myself; and therefore beg your Holiness will take upon yourself the examining of my Cause: For to your Judgment I have appealed, and in your Judgment alone I am resolved to acquiesce." The Pope received him, as all were received, who appealed to *Rome*, with the greatest Marks of Friendship and Kindness. He had been but a few Days in *Rome*, when Deputies arrived there, sent by *Berctwald* of *Canterbury* to justify, against his Misrepresentations, the Proceedings of the Council of

\* Edd. ibid. c. 44, 45, 46.

\* Idem ibid. c. 50.

(G) *Hæc audientes, Archiepiscopus et a nobis notatus damnetur, quod magis illi Rex, dixerunt, Modo utique culpabilis factus sum quam nostrum elegit iudicium* (1).

(1) Edd. in Vit. *Wilfrid*. c. 44.

*Onestrefield*, and the Judgment they had given. Upon their Arrival the Pope assembled the Bishops, who were then in *Rome*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, to examine the Cause together with him, and hear both Parties, what the Deputies had to lay to the Charge of *Wilfrid*, what *Wilfrid* had to offer in Defence of his Innocence. This Examination lasted four whole Months, and the Bishops are said to have met no fewer than 70 times. In the End *Wilfrid*, tried, says the Author of his Life, as Gold in the Furnace or Crucible, was declared innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge, and absolved by the Pope in the Name of St. *Peter*, to whom Power was granted of Loosening and Binding †.

Year of  
Christ 704.

Is absolved  
there by the  
Pope and his  
Council.

*Wilfrid* being thus absolved, the Pope wrote to the Kings of *Mercia* and *Northumberland* to acquaint them therewith; and at the same time to desire, that they would order *Berctwald* to convene a Council of the *English* Bishops, at which should be present *Wilfrid*, and the two Bishops, who had been appointed in his room, viz. *Bosa* of *Tork*, and *John* of *Hagulstad*; that they should endeavour to adjust Matters among themselves; but if they could not agree, that the Parties concerned should repair to *Rome*, where he would take care to call together a greater Number of Bishops than were present at this time, and with their Advice finally determine the whole Affair. With these Letters *Wilfrid* returned, much against his Will, to *England* (H), and repairing, as soon as he landed, to *Canterbury*, acquainted *Berctwald* with the Judgment given by the Pope in his Favour. *Berctwald* was, it seems, unwilling to quarrel

Returns to  
England.

Well received  
by Berctwald  
of Canter-  
bury.

Year of  
Christ 705.

† Idem ibid. c. 50.

(H) He remembered the Treatment, which he had formerly met with in *England*, notwithstanding the Judgment given by the Pope in his Favour (1); and not caring, as he was now far advanced in Years, to expose himself to the like Treatment, he would have willingly spent the short Remains of his Life in Peace at *Rome*. But the Pope found him the most proper Tool he could employ, to maintain and promote his Authority in *England*; and therefore without any Regard to his Age, his Inclination, or the just Apprehension he was under of the Reception he might

meet with at home, he ordered him to return without Delay, and acquaint the King of *Northumberland* and the Archbishop, be the Consequence what it would, with the Decree of the Apostolic See in his Favour. *Wilfrid* indeed was satisfied, says the Author of his Life, with the Absolution of the Pope and his Council; but having promised all Duty and Obedience to the Apostolic See, he readily obey'd the Order he received, how contrary soever to his Inclination, and chearfully set out, carrying a Cargo of Reliques with him, on his Return to *England* (2).

(1) See above, p. 105.

(2) Eddius in Vit. *Wilfrid*. c. 53.

Year of  
Christ 705.

Recommend-  
ed by the  
King of Mer-  
cia to the King  
of Northum-  
berland.

Who is recon-  
ciled to him  
when at the  
Point of  
Death.

with the Pope; and therefore, finding that *Wilfrid* had been absolved at *Rome*, he was not only reconciled with him, but promised to mitigate the Severity of the Sentence, which the *English* Council had passed upon him. From *Kent* *Wilfrid* hastened to the Court of the King of the *Mercians*. But his Friend *Ethelred* had quitted his Kingdom the Year before, and led, at this time, a Monastic Life in the Monastery of *Bardeney* in *Lincolnshire*. However, out of the great Friendship he had for *Wilfrid*, he warmly recommended him to *Kenred*, to whom he had resigned the Crown. *Kenred*, in virtue of his Recommendation, dispatched two Embassadors to the Court of *Northumberland*, to let the King know, that *Wilfrid* had brought a Letter to him from the Pope, and beg he would grant him Leave to come to his Court, and acquaint him with the Judgment and Writings of the Apostolic See concerning his Cause. *Alfrid* received the Embassadors with the greatest Politeness, and returned, after having advised with his Council, the following Answer; That he had the greatest Regard for their Persons; and therefore would have greedily embraced the Opportunity of gratifying them, had they asked any thing for themselves; but, as for *Wilfrid*, he begged they would not concern themselves with his Affairs, or with him: *For what my Royal Predecessors, said he, and the Archbishop, did formerly decree, what I myself with an Archbishop approved by Rome, and almost all the Bishops of Britain, have again decreed, I never will alter or repeal for what you call the Writings of the Apostolic* See<sup>u</sup>. But he did not continue long in that Mind: For, being soon after taken dangerously ill, and apprehending, when his Understanding was impaired, that his Illness was a Judgment from Heaven for not submitting to the Authority of the Pope, he solemnly promised to submit to it, if he recovered, and restore *Wilfrid* to his See and all his Possessions. The King did not recover (1); but charged, when at the Point of Death, *Bereftfrid*, Guardian to his infant Son

<sup>u</sup> Idem ibid. c. 55.

(1) *Alfrid* died this Year, a few Days before he had completed the 20th Year of his Reign (1). He is commended by *William of Malmesbury* as a Prince, in whom Envy itself could discover nothing worthy of Blame, besides his persecuting the great *Wilfrid* (2); and *Eddius* himself, however partial to that Prelate, speaks of *Alfrid*, as a Prince of great Wisdom (3).

(1) Bed. in Epit. Wigorn. ad ann. 705. Malmesb. de reg. Angl. l. i. p. 21.  
(2) Malmesb. ibid. (3) Edd. in Vit. Wilfrid. c. 56.

*Ofred*, to see that his Promise was punctually performed, and as soon as it possibly could. Year of  
Christ 705.

The King being dead, a Council was, by means of *Bereðfrid*, Great Council convened. convened as soon as it conveniently could, the most numerous Council, and in every respect the most considerable, that had yet met in *England*: For it consisted of all the Bishops of the Heptarchy; and the young King was present in Person, attended by *Bereðfrid* Regent of the Kingdom, by *Ælfrida*, the late King's Sister, and Abbess of *Streneshall* or *Whitby*, and by all the Abbots and Nobility of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. They met at a Place near the River *Nidd*; and *Bereðwald*, who presided, after exhorting his Brethren to Peace and Concord, produced the Letters from the Pope to the Kings of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, acquainted the Council with the Judgment given at *Rome* in Favour of *Wilfrid*, and at the same time declared, that as for himself, he was for complying with that Judgment. He was therein warmly opposed by several Bishops, especially by *John* of *Beverly*, Bishop of *Hagulstad*, urging against the Decrees of the Pope the Decrees of *Theodore* confirmed by King *Ecgfrid*, and those of *Bereðwald* himself lately confirmed by King *Alfred*, and all the Bishops of *England*: These Decrees, they said, no Man had a Power to revoke or annul. This gave occasion to long and warm Disputes in the Council. But the Abbess *Ælfrida*, who was, on account of her eminent Sanctity, held by all in the greatest Veneration, interposing in Favour of *Wilfrid*, and *Bereðfrid* declaring, at the same time, that the late King had, on his Death-bed, vowed his Restoration, and charged him with the Performance of his Vow, the Party, that had hitherto opposed *Wilfrid*, began to yield, and the Matter was, in the End, thus compromised; viz. That *John*, Bishop of *Hagulstad*, should be translated to the See of *Tork* vacant by the Death of *Bosa*, which happened very luckily at this time; and that *Wilfrid* should be appointed Bishop of *Hagulstad* in his room, and enjoy with that Bishoprick his Abbey of *Rippon*<sup>w</sup>. And thus was the Affair of *Wilfrid* determined at length, after it had lasted, with some Intermision, near forty Years. He was obliged to be satisfied with the Bishoprick of *Hagulstad*, and died four Years after, that is in 709. Bishop of that City. From the foregoing Account (and the Account

<sup>w</sup> Idem, c. 56, 57. Bed. l. 5. c. 3. et 20. Malmesb. de Pont. Angl. l. 3. p. 269.

Year of.  
Christ 705.

*The Supre-  
macy of the  
Pope not yet  
owned in  
England.*

is delivered by an unexceptionable Writer, by a Writer, who lived at this very time, and was an Eye-witness of what he relates) it is evident, as every Reader must have observed, beyond all Contradiction, that the *English* Church or Bishops knew not yet, so late as the eighth Century, of any Power, besides that of the King, superior to their own; that they looked upon the Judgment given by them, and confirmed by the King, as decisive and final, and were so far from believing, that the Pope could reverse or repeal the Sentence, which they had pronounced, that on the contrary they thought it a Crime worthy of Degradation to appeal from their Judgment to his. And it is to be observed, that those, who opposed the Restoration of *Wilfrid* the most, notwithstanding the Decrees of four Popes in his Favour, who condemned him as guilty, though declared innocent at *Rome*, and free from all Guilt, who even deposed him for appealing from their Judgment to that of the Pope, were all Men of distinguished Characters; nay, and some of them, if the Authority of *Bede*, who was personally acquainted with them, may be relied on, famous for the Sanctity of their Lives, and even for the Miracles, which they were said to have wrought. I have dwelt on these Transactions longer than I should have otherwise done, to shew the Sense of the *English* Church, at this time, with respect to the Power and Authority of the Pope, the Power especially of receiving Appeals, which the Popish Writers most impudently pretend to have been ever acknowledged in this Kingdom.

*The Pope dies.* The Affair of *Wilfrid* was not yet quite determined when the Pope died. If he held the See, as we read in *Anastasius*, and in almost all the Pontificals, three Years, two Months, and twelve Days, his Death must have happened on the ninth of *January* of the present Year; for he was ordained on the 28th of *October* 702. He was buried, with the other Popes, in the Church of *St. Peter* \*.

\* Anast. in Joan. VI.

# John VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

167

TIBERIUS,  
JUSTINIAN.

JOHN VII,

ARIBERT,  
King of the Lombards.

Year of  
Christ 705.

Eighty-fifth BISHOP of Rome.

**J**OHNN the Sixth was succeeded by John the Seventh of that Name, ordained the first of *March* of the present Year, after a Vacancy of one Month, and nineteen or twenty Days. He too was a Native of *Greece*, and the Son of one *Plato*. His Promotion was no sooner known at *Constantinople*, than *Justinian*, who was restored to the Empire in the latter End of this Year (I), dispatched two Metropolitans to *Rome*, with a Copy of the Canons of the late Council in *Trullo*; and a Letter to the new Pope, requiring him to examine those Canons with his Council, and point out, in the Copy he had sent him, which he rejected, and which he received. The Metropolitans met with a Reception at *Rome* suitable to their Rank and their Character; but the pusillanimous Pope, as *Anastasius* styles him, unwilling, on the one hand, to approve of all the Canons of that Council, as some of them condemned the received Practices of his Church, and apprehending on the other, that he might disoblige the Emperor, and be driven from his Sec, if he excepted against any, dextrously declined concerning himself with them at all, and sent back the Copy by the same Me-

John VII.  
chosen.

The Canons  
of the Qui-  
nient Coun-  
cil, sent by  
the Emperor  
to Rome.  
Year of  
Christ 706.

\* Anast. in Joan. VII.

(1) *Leontius*, who had driven *Justinian* from the Throne, and, having caused his Nose to be cut off, banished him to *Chersona*, as has been related above (1), was himself, after a Reign of about three Years, treated in the like manner by *Apsimar*, called also *Tiberius*, one of his own Generals, who, being proclaimed Emperor by the Troops under his Command, seized on *Leontius*, caused his Nose to be cut off, and confined him to a Monastery in *Dalmatia*. In the mean time *Justinian*, having privately, by some trusty Friends, engaged *Trebeles*, King of the *Bulgarians*, to espouse his Cause, fled undiscovered from the Place of his Exile, to the Court of that Prince, who not only received him with the greatest Demonstrations of Kindness, but marched with him, at the Head of a

powerful Army, to *Constantinople*, and laid Siege to that Metropolis. The Inhabitants, dreading the cruel Temper of *Justinian*, seemed determined to hold out to the last. But the third Day of the Siege some *Romans*, who served in the Army of *Trebeles*, having got into the City through an Aqueduct, and opened the Gates to the rest, their Courage failed them; and, throwing down their Arms, they submitted anew to *Justinian*, conducted him to the Imperial Palace, and replaced him on the Throne (2). Thus was *Justinian* restored to the Empire, nine Years after he had been driven from it. Both Usurpers fell into his Hands, and both were beheaded. As for the Patriarch *Callinicus*, he ordered his Eyes to be put out, and then banished him to *Rome*.

(1) See above, p. 155; Note F. (2) Theoph. Cedren. ad Ann. Tib. Apf. 7.

ropolitans



Year of  
Christ 707.

Who sends  
them back  
without ei-  
ther appro-  
ving or disap-  
proving them.

He dies.

The Patri-  
mony in the  
Alpes Cot-  
tiæ restored  
to the Roman  
Church.

tropolitans who brought it, without declaring his Approbation of any, or his Disapprobation <sup>z</sup> (K). And this is all we read of *John VII.* worthy of Notice, from the Time of his Election, to the Time of his Death. He presided in the *Roman Church*, according to the Bibliothecarian, two Years, seven Months, and seventeen Days; and consequently must have died on the 17th of *October 707.* He was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, before the Altar of an Oratory, built by himself in Honour of the Virgin *Mary.* Of him it is observed, that he adorned several Churches in *Rome* with the Pictures of the Fathers, and likewise with his own <sup>a</sup>. In the Time of this Pope, or, as some will have it, in the Time of his Predecessor Pope *John VI. Aribert*, King of the *Lombards*, is said by *Paulus Diaconus* to have restored to the Apostolic See, and yielded for ever, by an Instrument written with Letters of Gold, which he sent to Pope *John* and *St. Peter*, the Patrimony of the *Roman Church* in the *Alpes Cottiae* (L), which had been seized and long possessed by the *Lombards* <sup>b</sup>. Some have understood *Paulus Diaconus* here, as if he meant, that the King of the *Lombards* restored to the Apostolic See the whole Province of the *Alpes Cottiae*, the ninth Province of *Italy*, comprising a large Tract of Country, and several great Cities; viz. *Susa, Tortona, Savona, Genua, &c.* and thence conclude that whole Province to belong of right to the Pope. But from History it does not appear, that the Popes were ever possessed of the whole Province; nor can they tell us, setting aside

<sup>z</sup> Anast. in Joan. VII.

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Paul. Diac. l. 6. c. 28.

(K) The Pusillanimity and Timorousness of this Pope, quite unworthy of an Apostolical Man, gave Occasion, says *Papebroke*, to the Satirical *Romans* to call him, by way of Derision, a Woman, and branding him with the Name of Pope *Joan*; and hence the famous Fable of a she Pope took its Rise (1). But that Chronologer is in this, as he is in most of his other Conjectures, for they deserve no other Name, grossly mistaken; the Fable of a she Pope, if it is a Fable, being of a later Date, by several Centuries, than the Pontificate of *John VII.* as shall be shewn in a more proper Place.

(L) The *Cottian Alps* were so called

(1) Papeb. in Conatu Chronic. Historic. mian. l. 15. c. 20.

(4) Idem ibid.

from *Cottius*, King of that Country, who lived, not in the Time of *Nero*, as *Paulus Diaconus* supposes (2), but in the Time of *Augustus*, as we read in *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3), and defended his Kingdom with great Bravery against the *Romans*, till *Augustus* received him into his Friendship. He was the first, says *Ammianus*, who rendered the *Alps* passable with Safety; and the Road, which he made cross those Mountains, was ever afterwards used by the *Roman Armies*, that marched into *Gaul* (4). His Kingdom was, upon his Death, reduced to a *Roman Province*, and reckoned the ninth Province of *Italy* (5).

(2) Paul. Diac. l. 2. c. 16.

(3) Am-

(5) Eutrop. l. 7. c. 9.

the

Sisinnius.

## BISHOPS of Rome.

169

the famous Donation of *Constantine*, when, by whom, on what Occasion it was yielded to them; and what they never possessed, can, in no Sense, be said to have been restored to them. *Paulus Diaconus*, it is true, calls what they possessed in that Province, *the Patrimony of the Alpes Cottia*; but the Popes themselves constantly stile it in their Letters, *the Patrimony of St. Peter, in the Alpes Cottia*; an Expression, that plainly shews the Patrimony did not comprehend the whole Province.

Year of  
Christ 707.

JUSTINIAN.

## SISINNIUS,

ARIBERT,  
King of the Lombards.

*Eighty-sixth* BISHOP of Rome.

IN the room of *John VII.* was ordained, on the 18th of *January*, when the See had been vacant three Months, *Sisinnius*, by Birth a *Syrian*, and the Son of one *John*. He was so lame with the Gout, that he could not even feed himself; and he died suddenly, twenty Days after his Ordination<sup>c</sup>; so that his Death must have happened on the 6th of *February* 708. As the Popes, trusting to the Affection of the People, and the Soldiery, which they made it their Study to earn and to cultivate, looked now upon *Rome*, in a manner, as their own; *Sisinnius* undertook to rebuild the Walls of that City, at the Expence of his See; and had already prepared, tho' he lived so short a Time, some of the necessary Materials for so great an Undertaking<sup>d</sup>. He is commended by *Anastasius*, the only antient Writer, who mentions him, as a Man of great Firmness and Constancy<sup>e</sup>.

Sisinnius  
chosen.  
Year of  
Christ 708.

Dies soon  
after.

<sup>c</sup> Anast. in Sifinn.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.

Year of  
Christ 708.

JUSTINIAN.

CONSTANTINE,

ARIBERT,  
ASPRAND, } Kings of the  
LUITPRAND, } Lombards.

*Eighty-seventh* BISHOP of Rome.

Constantine  
chosen.

*SISINNIUS* being dead, *Constantine*, another *Syrian*, and he too the Son of one *John*, was chosen to succeed him, and ordained, after a Vacancy of one Month, and nineteen Days, and, by Consequence, on the 25th of *March* <sup>f</sup>.

Felix of Ra-  
venna asserts  
the Independ-  
ency of his  
Sec.

Year of  
Christ 709.

In the first Year of *Constantine*, came to *Rome* *Felix*, Archbishop elect of *Ravenna*, to receive his Ordination at the Hands of the Pope; and he was accordingly ordained by *Constantine*, having first promised, says *Anastasius*, as his Predecessors had done (N), Subjection and Obedience to the Apostolic Sec. But he soon forgot, adds the same Writer, the Promise he had made; or rather, repented his having thus betray'd the Liberties and just Rights of the Church committed to his Care; and being, on his Return to *Ravenna*, encouraged by the People, who had chosen him, to shake off the Yoke, he retracted his Promise, withdrew himself from all Subjection to *Rome*, and openly asserted the Independency of his Sec. Of this the Pope was no sooner informed, than, transported with Rage, he complained of it to the Emperor; painting *Felix* and his People as Rebels to *St. Peter*, and exhorting him to espouse the Cause of the Prince of the Apostles, and wreak on his Enemies the Vengeance which their Rebellion deserved. As *Justinian* was extremely desirous of having the Canons of his Council in *Trullo* approved by the Pope, he laid hold of this Opportunity to oblige him; and hearkening to his Complaints, he sent immediately an Order to the Patrician *Theodorus*, General of the Army in the Island

<sup>f</sup> Anast. in Constantin.

(N) As some of his Predecessors had done, he ought to have said. The three immediate Predecessors of *Felix*, *Reparatus*, *Theodorus*, and *Damianus*, had indeed acknowledged the Authority of the Pope, and, for the sake of Peace, promised Subjection and Obedience to the Apostolic Sec. But *Maurus*, the immediate Predecessor of

*Reparatus*, not only maintained the Independency of his Sec, in Defiance of the Pope and all his Anathemas, so long as he lived, but charged his Clergy, when at the Point of Death, to tread in his Footsteps, and withstand, to the last, the unjust Claims and Pretensions of *Rome* (1).

(1) See above, p. 87, 88.

of

## Constantine. BISHOPS of Rome.

171

of *Sicily*, requiring him to sail forthwith to *Ravenna*, to seize there the Archbishop, with the other Rebels (for so he stiled them), and send them all in Chains to *Constantinople*. The Order was executed with the utmost Rigour; and the unhappy Prisoners were, soon after their Arrival at *Constantinople*, all put to Death, except the Archbishop; and his Life the Emperor spared out of his great Mercy, but caused his Eyes to be put out, and banished him to *Pontus*. And thus by a just Judgment of God, and by the Sentence of St. *Peter*, all were in the End deservedly cut off, who refused to pay the Obedience that was due to the Apostolic See g. With these Words the Bibliothecarian closes this Account, impiously ascribing to God, and St. *Peter*, the Antichristian Cruelties of the Pope, and the Emperor. Thus, in the End, was the See of *Ravenna* entirely subjected to the See of *Rome*; and we read of no farther Attempts made by the Bishops of that City, towards the Recovery of their Liberty, from this Time till the Beginning of the eleventh Century, when we shall see them striving again, but striving in vain, to shake off the Yoke. As for the unhappy *Felix*, he continued in *Pontus*, the Place of his Exile, so long as *Justinian* lived, the Pope, tho' the chief Author of all his Misfortunes, never once offering to interpose in his Favour. However, upon the Death of *Justinian*, he was recalled by *Philippicus*, and even restored, notwithstanding his Blindness, to his Dignity and See h. He is said by *Anastasius* to have, at last, submitted to the Pope; and *Rubeus* tells us, in his Account of the Bishops of *Ravenna*, that after his Death he was honoured by that Church as a Saint (O).

Year of  
Christ 709.

Who causes  
him to be sent  
Prisoner to  
Constanti-  
nople, and  
his Eyes to  
be put out.

The See of  
Ravenna en-  
tirely sub-  
jected to that of  
Rome.

The same Year *Coenred*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Offa*, the Son of *Segher*, King of the *East-Saxons*, a Youth, says *Bede* i, of great Comeliness and extraordinary Endowments, came to *Rome*, to embrace a monastic Life there, and receive the Tonsure at the Hands of the Pope. *Offa* is supposed by *William* of *Malmsbury* k, and after him by all our Historians, to have been King of the *East-Saxons*: But *Bede*, who lived at this Time, only calls him the Son of *Segher*, King of the *East-Saxons*; and commends him for leaving his

The King of  
the Mercians  
and the Son  
of the King  
of the East-  
Saxons, em-  
brace a mo-  
nastic Life at  
Rome.

g Anast. in Constantin. h Idem ibid. i Bed. in Epit. et in Hist. l. 5. c. 10.  
k Malmsb. de reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 6.

(O) His Tomb was discovered, by that Antiquarian, with the following Epitaph, or Inscription: *Hic tumulus clausum ser-* *uat corpus Domini Felicis Sanctissimi ac ter*  
*Beatissimi Archiepiscopi, tho' a Rebel to*  
*St. Peter.*

Year of  
Christ 709.

Wife, his Lands, his Relations, his Country, without mentioning, as he does in speaking of *Coenred*, his Crown, or his Kingdom. Both he and *Coenred* continued at *Rome*, and in the Profession they had embraced, so long as they lived<sup>1</sup>. *Egwin*, the third Bishop of *Worcester*, is said by *William* of *Malmsbury*<sup>m</sup>, and the anonymous Writer of his Life<sup>n</sup>, to have attended the two Princes to *Rome*, and to have obtained, on that Occasion, of Pope *Constantine*, a Grant of several Privileges, Immunities, and Exemptions, for the Monastery of *Evesham*, which he had founded. But that Grant, or Charter, is now as universally looked upon as supposititious, as it was deemed, in the ignorant Ages, authentic and genuine°. And indeed, by no Nation more Fables, more incredible Stories, have been invented concerning their Rise and Original, than have been invented by the Monks, lying as it were in Emulation of each other, concerning the Original, Foundation, and Privileges, of their respective Monasteries.

The Emperor  
orders the  
Pope to re-  
pair to Con-  
stantinople.  
Year of  
Christ 710.

The following Year *Constantine* received a Letter from the Emperor, commanding him, that is, says *Baronius*, begging and entreating him<sup>p</sup>, to repair to *Constantinople*, as soon as he conveniently could. What gave Occasion to that unexpected Command History has not informed us; but as *Justinian* had long desired to have the Canons of the Council in *Trullo* approved by the Pope, it is commonly thought, that he called him with that View, to the Imperial City, knowing that his Approbation might be there more easily obtained than at *Rome*. However that be, *Constantine*, in Obedience to his Command, embarked as soon as he received it, and sailed from *Porto*, on the 5th of *October* of the present Year, attended by two Bishops, three Presbyters, and a great Number of the inferior Clergy. He passed the Winter at *Hydruntum*, now *Otranto*, in *Calabria*; and, during his Stay there, received an Order signed by the Emperor, and addressed to all the Governors, Judges, and Magistrates, of the Cities and Places through which he should pass, requiring them to receive, honour, and entertain him, as they would the Emperor, were he present in Person. With this Order *Constantine* sailed early in the Spring from *Otranto*, and, pursuing his Voyage, was received in all the Places he touched at, in a kind of

He is every-  
where receiv-  
ed with the  
greatest  
Marks of  
Distinction.

<sup>1</sup> BeJ. ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Malmsb. de Gest. Pont. Angl. l. 2. p. 35.

<sup>n</sup> Apud Bolland.

ad diem XI. Jan. et Mabill. Secul. III. Benedictin.

<sup>o</sup> Vide Wharton. in præfat.

ad Angl. Sacram.

<sup>p</sup> Bar. ad Anni. 709. p. 662.

Triumph; and had the same Honours paid him, that would have been paid on the like Occasion to the Emperor himself. He landed before he reached *Constantinople*, and, approaching that City, was met, at seven Miles Distance, by *Tiberius*, the Emperor's Son, *Jus-*  
*tinian* himself being then at *Nice*, by the Senate in a Body, by the Nobility, the chief Citizens, and the Patriarch *Cyrus* at the Head of his Clergy. With this grand Attendance he entered the City, mounted, with the chief Persons of his Retinue, on the Emperor's own Horses most richly caparisoned; and, advancing through immense Crouds of People, all congratulating him with repeated Acclamations on his happy Arrival, he dismounted at the Palace of *Placidia*, which was assigned him for his Habitation; and there, with great Expressions of Friendship and Kindness, took Leave of *Tiberius*, and the rest, who had attended him thither. In the mean time, the Emperor, informed of his Arrival, dispatched immediately a Person of Distinction, with a Letter to thank him for his ready Compliance with the Order he had sent him, and require him to repair to the City of *Nicomedia*, where he should meet him. He met him there accordingly; and if the Account, which *Anastasius* gives us of this Interview, be true, the most Christian Emperor (for so he styles, on this Occasion, one of the most cruel and blood-thirsty Tyrants that ever sway'd a Scepter) prostrating himself at their first Meeting on the Ground with the Crown on his Head, kissed the Pope's Feet; and then they mutually embraced each other, all, who were present, admiring and extolling the extraordinary Condescension of the good Prince. The following Sunday the Emperor assisted at Divine Service, performed by the Pope; received the Sacrament at his Hands; and, begging his Holiness to intercede for him, that God might forgive him his Sins, he renewed and confirmed all the Privileges, that had ever been granted to his See, and then gave him Leave to return home<sup>1</sup>.

*He arrives at Constantinople. Year of Christ 711.*

*How received by the Emperor.*

This is the whole Account which *Anastasius* gives us of that Interview, in the Life of *Constantine*. He adds, in the Life of *Gregory II.* who attended *Constantine* into the East, and was afterwards chosen in his room, that *Gregory* being asked by the Emperor several Questions concerning certain Chapters, he answered them all to his entire Satisfaction<sup>2</sup>. But what these Chapters were, what Questions the Emperor asked, what Answers *Gregory* returned,

*He probably confirmed the Canons of the Council in Trullo.*

<sup>1</sup> Anast. in Constantin.

<sup>2</sup> Idem in Greg. II.

*Anastasius,*

Year of  
Christ 711.

*Anastasius*, the only Writer, who mentions these Particulars, has not thought fit to inform us. *Baronius*, *Lupus*, and *Pagi*, are of Opinion, and their Opinion perhaps is not ill-grounded, that the Chapters which the Bibliothecarian mentions, were the Canons of the Council in *Trullo*; and that the Questions of the Emperor, and the Answers of *Gregory*, all turned upon them: For *Justinian* had nothing so much at Heart, as to get those Canons approved by the Pope; and it was, in all Likelihood, to gain him, and extort, as it were, his Approbation, that, forgetful of his own Dignity, he flattered his Vanity in the manner we have seen. And it is not at all to be doubted, says *Lupus* <sup>s</sup>, but that *Constantine*, in Return for the extraordinary Honours that were paid him by the Emperor, gratify'd him so far, as to confirm such of those Canons at least, as were not repugnant to the established Practice and Laws of his own Church, that is, all but the five mentioned above <sup>t</sup>; tho', for the sake of them, they had been all indiscriminately condemned and rejected by *Sergius* <sup>u</sup>.

He returns to  
Rome.

*Anastasius*, having described the Reception, which *Constantine* met with at *Constantinople* from *Tiberius*, and from the Emperor at *Nicomedia*, passes immediately, without letting us know either what he did in the East, or what he was sent for, to his Return to *Rome*; and tells us, that the Emperor having granted him Leave to return home, he set out from *Nicomedia*, and arrived safe in the Port of *Gaeta*; that he was there met by the *Roman* Clergy, and great Numbers of People; and was attended by them, with loud Shouts of Joy, to the City, which he entered on the 24th of *October*, of the tenth Indiction, and consequently of the present Year 711 <sup>w</sup>. On his Arrival at *Rome* he found, to his great Concern,

The Exarch  
puts to Death  
some of the  
chief Men  
among the  
Roman Cler-  
gy.

that *John*, surnamed *Rizocopus*, the new Exarch, passing through that City in his Way to *Ravenna*, had caused four of the chief Men among the Clergy to be put to Death; and very undeservedly, as *Anastasius* seems to insinuate; for he ascribes the shameful Death, of which, he says, the Exarch soon after died at *Ravenna*, to a just Judgment of God upon him, for the many unjust Actions, of which he was guilty <sup>x</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> *Lupus* in Scholiis ad Canon. Trull. p. 1078.

<sup>t</sup> See above, p. 154.

<sup>u</sup> *Anast.* in *Constantin.*

<sup>v</sup> See above, p. 152.

<sup>x</sup> *Idem* *ibid.*

The Pope had been but three Months in *Rome*, says *Anastasius* <sup>Year of Christ 712.</sup>, after his Return from the East, when he received the melancholy News of the Death of the most Christian and Orthodox Emperor *Justinian*, and the Promotion of the Heretic *Bardanes* to the Empire in his room. Of this Revolution the *Greek* Historians give us the following Account. While *Justinian* lived in Exile in *Chersonesus*, the Inhabitants of that Country, and their Neighbours the *Bosporans*, apprehending he might one Day be restored to the Empire, and dreading his Cruelty, resolved either to put him to Death, or to send him in Chains to *Appsimarus*, who had usurped, after *Leontius*, the Sovereign Power, as has been related above <sup>Justinian murdered, and Bardanes raised to the Throne.</sup>: But *Justinian*, suspecting their Design, found Means to make his Escape before it could be put in Execution, and, getting safe to the Court of the King of the *Bulgarians*, was by him replaced on the Throne, in the manner we have seen <sup>a</sup>. As this good Prince, this most Christian and Orthodox Emperor, delighted in nothing so much as in Acts of Cruelty and Revenge, as in Bloodshed and Slaughter; he no sooner got the Power again into his Hands, than he resolved to employ it, not in driving the *Saracens* from the many fine Provinces, which they had lately seized, and quietly enjoy'd, or in restraining the Incursions of other barbarous Nations breaking on all Sides into the Empire, but in wreaking his Vengeance on his own Subjects the unhappy People of *Chersonesus* and *Bosporus*. Against them he dispatched, in the very first Year after his Restoration, a mighty Fleet, and a numerous Army on board of it, with express Orders to spare none, but to put all to the Sword they should meet with in those Parts, without Distinction of Sex or Age, of Guilty or Innocent. These Orders were executed with the utmost Barbarity; Multitudes of People, Women as well as Men, were inhumanly massacred. Some were by the cruel Soldiery roasted alive, others expired on the Rack, and many were cast into the Sea. The Children however were spared; which the cruel Tyrant no sooner understood, than, transported with Rage, he ordered a new Fleet to be equipped, most of his Ships of War having been shipwrecked on their Return from *Chersona*, and gave the Command of it to *Elias*, and *Philippicus Bardanes*, who had been both banished by *Appsimarus* to the Island of *Cephalonia*, strictly injoining them not to

<sup>a</sup> Anast. in Constantin.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 167. note L.

<sup>a</sup> See above, *ibid.*



Year of  
Christ 712.

leave Man, Woman, or Child alive in those Countries, but to put all indiscriminately to the Sword, to lay their Habitations and Cities in Ashes, and plow up the Ground, on which they stood. With these Orders the Fleet sailed; but both Commanders, instead of executing them, openly revolted, and *Bardanes*, taking upon him the Title of Emperor with the Consent of *Elias*, was received with great Joy by the People of *Chersona*, who had escaped the late Massacre, into their City. The Emperor, upon the first News of this Revolt, ordered a third Fleet to be equipped; and it was equipped accordingly with incredible Expedition: But those, who commanded it, despairing, on their Arrival at *Chersona*, of ever being able to reduce that Place, the Inhabitants being determined, as well as *Bardanes* and *Elias*, to defend it to the last, chose rather to acknowledge *Bardanes*, and join those, against whom they had been sent, than return, without executing the Orders of the implacable Tyrant, to *Constantinople*. *Bardanes*, thus proclaimed and supported by two powerful Armies, marched strait to *Constantinople*, which he entered without Opposition, *Justinian* being then at *Sinope* in *Paphlagonia*, and the People looking upon the new Emperor rather as their Deliverer, than as an Usurper. Upon his Arrival *Tiberius*, the Emperor's Son, took Refuge in the Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, called *ad Blachernas*, a famous Sanctuary; but he was dragged from thence, and from the Altar, which he grasped, by one *Strutus*, and slain in the Presence of *Anastasia* his Grandmother. As for *Justinian*, *Bardanes* dispatched against him *Elias*, whose Son, yet an Infant, he had lately caused to be murdered in the Arms of its Mother, and obliged her to marry a Man of the meanest Condition. *Elias* came up with him in the Neighbourhood of *Sinope*, and having gained over the Troops he had with him, took him Prisoner without the Loss of a Man, cut off his Head with his own Hand, and sent it to *Bardanes* by one of his Officers, whom *Bardanes* immediately dispatched with it to *Rome*, that his Death might be known there, and in the other Cities and Provinces subject to the Empire in the West<sup>b</sup>. *Justinian* had reigned sixteen Years, ten before he was driven from the Throne, and six after his Restoration. He was of all the Emperors after *Phocas*, the Christian Emperors at least, the most bloody and cruel, and, what is worthy of Notice, of all, after *Phocas*, the most favourable to the

<sup>b</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. 703. Niceph. c. 6. Cedren. in Justin. Hist. Miscell.

Popes, and their See. *Phocas* laid the Foundation of the exorbitant Power, that in Process of time was usurped by the Popes \*; and *Justinian* countenanced their unjust Usurpations by punishing, as we have seen †, with his usual Cruelty, those, who offered to withstand or oppose them. Indeed to establish or countenance such a Tyranny in the Church was a Work worthy only of those, who exercised the like Tyranny in the State.

Year of  
Christ 712.

Thus did the Cruelty of *Justinian*, which had occasioned the Destruction of Thousands, give occasion at last to his own, and to that of his Family. For in him, and his Son *Tiberius*, ended the Family of *Heraclius*, after they had governed the Empire a whole Century, that is, from the Year 610. when *Phocas* was murdered, to the present Year 711. when *Justinian* underwent the same Fate. In the time of these Princes the *Saracens* laid, almost undisturbed, the Foundations of that mighty Empire, which they afterwards raised on the Ruins of the *Roman*. In the Reign of *Heraclius* they began first to be heard of, and at the Death of *Justinian* they had already made themselves Masters of all *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Palestine*, and *Armenia*, of *Mesopotamia*, of great Part of *Africa*, and of the whole *Persian* Empire. What the Rapidity of their Conquests was chiefly owing to has been already shewn. The Emperors, if they deserve that Name, from *Heraclius* the first of that Race to *Justinian* the last, suffered their Attention to be so entirely engrossed with the Affairs of the Church, as utterly to neglect those of the State. In the time of *Heraclius*, when the Impostor *Mahomet* first made his Appearance, was unluckily started the famous Question concerning the Will and Operations of *Christ*; and that Question, impertinent as it is, kept the whole Church divided, and the Bishops at Variance, for the Space of almost a whole Century. The Emperors from the Beginning took Part in the Dispute; and it must raise the Indignation of every Reader, who peruses the Records of those Times, to find the *Saracens* and other Barbarians breaking on all Sides into the Empire, seizing Province after Province, and laying them all waste in their Turns; and the Emperors, in the mean time, instead of assembling Armies to oppose them, or concerting with their Ministers the most effectual Means of checking the daily Growth of their Power, and saving the Empire, only intent on assembling Bishops, and issuing, as directed

The Conquests  
of the Saracens.

To what  
chiefly owing.

\* See Vol. II. p. 546. &c.      † See above, p. 171.

Year of  
Christ 712.

by them, Edicts, Decrees, Rescripts, Ectheses, Types, &c. concerning a metaphysical Speculation, that had no kind of Connexion with the Christian Faith or Religion. *Constantine*, the Father of *Justinian*, was, of all the Descendents of *Heraclius*, the most capable of retrieving the Losses, which his Predecessors had sustained from the Barbarians. He had defeated them with great Slaughter in several Engagements, had utterly ruined their Naval Power, and would, in all Likelihood, by pursuing the Advantages he had gained, have driven them, in a short time, quite out of the Empire; but thinking it a Matter of far greater Importance and Moment to have it determined, whether in *Christ* were one Will or two, one Operation or two Operations, that he might be at Leisure to assemble for that Purpose a General Council, he concluded a Peace with the *Saracens*, in the Height of his Success, as soon as they proposed it, and almost on their own Terms, yielding to them all the Provinces they had seized to that time. But, after all, neither *Constantine* nor the other Emperors are more worthy of Blame than the Ecclesiastics of those Days, nor perhaps so much: For as it was by their unseasonable and impertinent Disputes, and the Disturbances they raised in the Empire, that the Emperors were diverted from attending to the Affairs of the State, the Evils, which thence ensued, ought chiefly to be laid at their Door.

The new Emperor a zealous Monothelite.

But to resume the Thread of the History, the Promotion of *Bar-danes*, or, as he thenceforth stiled himself, *Philippicus*, was attended with a great Change of Affairs in the Church as well as the State. The new Emperor had imbibed from his Infancy the Principles of the *Monothelites*, having been brought up under an Abbot named *Stephen*, a most zealous *Monothelite*, and the favourite Disciple of the famous *Macarius* of *Antioch*, whom the sixth General Council had condemned and deposed as an incorrigible Heretic <sup>2</sup> (D). He

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 112.

(D) We are told by *Theophanes*, that *Philippicus*, while yet a private Man, was assured by a Monk of the Monastery of *Callistratus*, a most zealous *Monothelite*, and well skilled in Astrology, that he should be one Day raised to the Imperial Dignity, and be blessed, when raised to it, with a long and prosperous Reign, provided he caused the VIth General Council to be an-

nulled, and the Doctrine proscribed, which that Council had impiously defined. *Theophanes* adds, that thereupon *Philippicus*, believing the Monk divinely inspired, not only resolved, but bound himself by a solemn Oath, if he ever attained to the Empire, to exert his whole Power against that Council, and against all, who should presume to maintain or defend it (1).

(1) *Theoph.* ad ann. 2. *Philip.*

therefore

therefore no sooner found himself vested with the sovereign Power, <sup>Year of</sup> than he undertook to extirpate the damnable Heresy, as he called it, <sup>Christ 712.</sup> of two Wills in *Christ*, and two Operations, and establish, in its room, the Catholic Doctrine of one Will only, and one Operation. In order to that he assembled, in the very first Year of his Reign, a <sup>The Doctrine</sup> Council in the Imperial City, at which assisted, among the rest, <sup>of one Will</sup> *John* of *Constantinople*, and the two Metropolitans *Andrew* and <sup>defined in a</sup> *Germanus*, the former of *Crete*, and the latter of *Cyzicus*; and by all to a Man the Doctrine of one Will, now the Faith of the Court, was declared the true Catholic Faith, and the VIth General Council, which had defined the opposite Doctrine, condemned and anathematized, with all who received it <sup>a</sup>: And it is observable, that many of the Bishops, who assisted at this Council, had distinguished themselves under the late Emperor, and soon after distinguished themselves again, under the Catholic Emperor *Anastasius*, by their Zeal for the Doctrine which they now so readily condemned.

The Council was no sooner dismissed, than the Emperor, who was <sup>The Mono-</sup> a Man of some Learning, as learned as least as most of the Ecclesiastics <sup>thelite Do-</sup> of those Days, drew up a Confession of Faith agreeable to the De- <sup>ctrine pre-</sup> finition of that Council, and sent it to all the Metropolitans in the <sup>vails again</sup> Empire, commanding them to receive it, and cause it to be received <sup>all over the</sup> by the Bishops of their respective Provinces, on Pain of forfeiting <sup>East.</sup> their Sees, and being driven, as obstinate Heretics, into Exile. At the same time he ordered the original Copy of the VIth General Council, that was lodged in the Imperial Palace, to be publicly burnt, and the Names of *Sergius* of *Constantinople*, and *Honorius* of *Rome*, who had been condemned and anathematized by that Council, to be placed, with a pompous Encomium, in the Diptychs, nay, and their Pictures to be set up with his own, as the Pictures of Men, who, having asserted the true Catholic Doctrine in their Life-time, had, on that Score, been unjustly persecuted by the Enemies of Truth after their Death <sup>b</sup>. His Confession of Faith, anathematizing the Doctrine of two Wills, the Council, that had defined it, and all, who received that Council, was signed and approved by almost all the Bishops in the East, and even by the *Apocrisarii* of the Apostolic See residing then at the Imperial Court <sup>c</sup>. Some few indeed remon-

<sup>a</sup> Agatho Diacon. in Peroration. Theoph. in Chronic. Niceph. in Hist. p. 31.  
<sup>b</sup> Agatho Diac. ubi supra. <sup>c</sup> Nicol. Pap. Ep. 8.

Year of  
Christ 712.

strated against it, unwilling to take, with the rest of their Brethren, the Faith of the Court for the Standard of theirs; but they being driven from their Sees, pursuant to the peremptory Order given by the Emperor, and others, less scrupulous and more complaisant, appointed in their room, the *Monothelite* Doctrine prevailed once more, and in a few Months, all over the East.

But is uni-  
versally con-  
demned in the  
West.

In the West the Zeal of *Philippicus*, and his Attempts in Favour of that Doctrine, were not attended with the Success he expected. As the Power of the Emperors was there at a very low Ebb, and the Popes, in a manner, Masters of *Rome*, *Constantine* not only rejected his Confession of Faith (for to him it was sent as well as to the other Metropolitans and Patriarchs) with the utmost Indignation, but condemned it in a Council assembled for that Purpose, as calculated to sap the very Foundation of the Catholic Faith, the Authority of the Councils and Fathers, as suggested and dictated by the Enemy of all Truth, and fraught with the most execrable and blasphemous Heresies. And now the People of *Rome*, looking upon the new Emperor as a Heretic, would not suffer his Image to be placed in the Church, according to Custom, nor his Name to be mentioned at the Service; nay, being informed, that he employed none but *Monothelites*, they encouraged the Patrician *Christopher*, who had been lately appointed Duke or Governor of *Rome* by *Justinian*, and pretended great Zeal for the two Wills, to keep his Employment in Defiance of the Emperor; and not to admit into the Palace the new Governor, named *Peter*, whom the Emperor had sent to succeed him. This gave occasion to a Battle or Skirmish at the Gates of the Palace between the two Competitors, in which twenty-five Persons were killed or wounded; and more Blood would have been shed, had not some of the chief Men among the Clergy, sent by the Pope with the Book of the Gospels, and Crosses in their Hands, parted the Combatants, by persuading the Christian Party, so they called the Party of *Christopher*, to withdraw, though most likely to prevail, and suffer the new Governor to take, without farther Opposition, Possession of the Palace<sup>d</sup>.

The Emperor  
not excommu-  
nicated.

That the Pope not only condemned the Emperor's Confession of Faith as heretical, but thundered against him the Sentence of Excommunication, and even deposed him as incapable of the Empire

<sup>d</sup> Anast. in Constantin. Paul. Diac. l. 6. c. 33.

## Constantine. BISHOPS of Rome.

181

on account of his Heresy, is asserted by *Platina*, and other more modern Historians. But of that not the least Notice is taken by the contemporary Writers; and the excommunicating and deposing an Emperor was not a Thing to be passed over in Silence, especially as no Emperor had, to that time, been excommunicated or deposed by the Pope, or by any other Bishop or Patriarch. Besides, the Pope would have placed his Image in the Church, as has been observed above, and caused him to be prayed for at the public Service, which was acknowledging him for Emperor and Sovereign of *Rome*, had not the Populace prevented him, provoked at the new Emperor's attempting to introduce a new Faith and Religion <sup>e</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 712.

*Philippicus* was soon informed of the Reception, which his Confession of Faith had met with at *Rome*, and had resolved to wreak his Vengeance both on the Pope and the People. But a Conspiracy being, in the mean time, formed against him, he was deposed, and *Philartemius*, his chief Secretary, proclaimed Emperor in his room, after he had reigned one Year, and six Months. In his Reign, and while he, like the preceding Emperors, neglecting the Affairs of the State, was wholly employed in assembling Councils, in drawing up new Confessions of Faith, and persecuting those, who did not receive them, the *Saracens*, finding him thus diverted, broke unexpectedly into the Empire, took the City of *Medæa*, laid waste several Provinces, and returned unmolested, carrying with them many Thousands of Captives. At the same time the *Bulgarians*, entering *Thrace*, advanced to the very Gates of *Constantinople*; and having ravaged the Country far and wide, and put an incredible Number of People to the Sword, marched back, without meeting with the least Opposition, loaded with Booty. These Calamities the People of *Constantinople* construed into a Judgment on the Empire for the Emperor's striving to establish a Doctrine, which the Church had condemned in a General Council; and some, whom he had otherwise disobliged, taking from thence occasion to conspire against him, one of them, by Name *Rufus*, entering the Palace with a Company of *Thracians*, while the Emperor was reposing after Dinner, put out his Eyes, and proclaimed *Philartemius*, who was immediately acknowledged by all, and the very next Day crowned by the Patriarch <sup>f</sup>.

*Philippicus*  
deposed, and  
*Philartemius*  
chosen in his  
room.  
Year of  
Christ 713.

<sup>e</sup> Paul Diac. *ibid*.

<sup>f</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. Philip. 2. Niceph. c. 7.

Year of  
Christ 713.

The new Em-  
peror a zeal-  
ous Assertor of  
the Doctrine  
of two Wills.

Which pro-  
wails anew  
all over the  
East.

*Philartemius*, or, as he was afterwards called, *Anastasius*, was a no less zealous Assertor of the Doctrine of two Wills, than his Predecessor had been of the Doctrine of one; and therefore no sooner found himself in the quiet Possession of the Throne, than he wrote a long Letter to the Pope, to assure him, that he received the VIth General Council, that he professed and unfeignedly believed the Doctrine defined by that holy Council, and that he would suffer none, within the Bounds of the Empire, to believe or profess any other. At the same time an Edict was issued, and sent by the Emperor's Order to the Metropolitans of the different Provinces, commanding them, on Pain of forfeiting their Sees, and being driven into Exile, to receive the sixth General Council, to profess the Doctrine of two Wills, which the Holy Ghost had revealed to his Church by the Fathers of that venerable Assembly, and anathematize all, as Enemies to God and the Church, who should thenceforth teach or defend the opposite Doctrine. The Edict met with no Opposition, but was every-where as readily complied with as that, which the late Emperor had issued out a few Months before, commanding all to profess the Doctrine of one Will, and anathematize the Council, that had defined, and those, who taught or maintained, the Doctrine of two. *John of Constantinople* received it among the first; and, on that Occasion, wrote a long Letter to the Pope, or rather an Apology for his late Conduct, pretending that for the Good of the Church, and to prevent the cruel Persecution, with which it was threatened, both he and his Colleagues had thought it expedient and necessary to use some Dissimulation, but had never renounced the true Catholic Doctrine, the Doctrine of two distinct Wills in Christ, and two Operations. He therefore intreated the Pope to receive him to his Communion, notwithstanding the Reports, that might perhaps have been spread to his Prejudice in the West, and to concur with him, under so religious an Emperor, in restoring, and establishing, on a lasting Foundation, the so long wished for Tranquillity of the Church. What Answer the Pope returned to that Letter we know not, nor indeed whether he returned any. The Example of *John* was followed by the other Metropolitans and Bishops in the East, all professing and teaching the Doctrine of two Wills with as much Zeal under *Anastasius*, as they had taught and professed under *Philippicus*

\* Epilog. Agath. t. 6. Concil. p. 1408.

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

183

the contrary Doctrine. And thus the Doctrine of two Wills prevailed again all over the East, and became the Catholic Doctrine.

Year of  
Christ 713.

In the mean time *Constantine* died, and his Death happened on the 8th of *April* 715. after he had held the See seven Years, and fifteen Days <sup>b</sup>. He is chiefly commended by *Anastasius* for his Charity to

*Constantine*  
*dies.*  
Year of  
Christ 715.

the Poor, great Numbers of whom he is said to have constantly maintained at a very considerable Expence. *Baleus* <sup>i</sup>, and after him the *Magdeburgenses*, suppose a Council to have been held in *London* in the Time of *Constantine*, and the Worshipping of Images to have been first introduced by that Council into *England*: But of such a Council no Mention is made by *Bede*, who lived at this very Time, nor indeed by any other antient Historian. However the

No Council  
held in Lon-  
don in his  
time.

Story of that Council was not, as F. *Pagi* seems to suppose <sup>k</sup>, invented by *Baleus*, but copied by him from the Records of the Monastery of *Evesham*: For the Setting up and Worshipping of Images is there said to have been approved, in the Time of Pope *Constantine*, by a Council held in *London*, on Occasion of an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, which *Edgwin*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and Founder of that Monastery, had, by her Order, set up, and caused to be publicly worshiped. But that no such Council ever was held is manifest from the Silence of all the Historians concerning it; and besides it is certain, as it will afterwards be made to appear, that the Worshipping of Images was not introduced into *England* till many Years after the Times in which this Council is supposed to have been held.

ANASTASIUS,  
THEODOSIUS,  
LEO ISAURICUS.

GREGORY II. LUITPRAND,  
King of the Lombards.

*Eighty-eighth* BISHOP of Rome.

IN the room of *Constantine* was chosen, and ordained after a Vacancy of forty Days, and consequently on the 19th of *May* 715. *Gregory*, the Second of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son

<sup>a</sup> Anast. in Constantin.  
Ann. 714. n. 11.

<sup>i</sup> Script. Britan. Cent. prim. p. 88.

<sup>k</sup> Pagi ad



Year of  
Christ 715.

of one *Marcellus* <sup>l</sup>. He had been brought up from his Childhood in the *Lateran* Palace under Pope *Sergius*; was afterwards chosen, while yet a Deacon, by his Predecessor Pope *Constantine*, as the most learned Man of that Church, to attend him into the East; and had distinguished himself there, as we are told, by his Learning and Parts, especially in answering the several Questions, which *Justinian* asked him, and solving, as has been observed above, all his Doubts and Difficulties to his entire Satisfaction <sup>m</sup>.

*Admits John  
of Constanti-  
nople to his  
Communion.*

The Promotion of *Gregory* was no sooner known in the East, than *John* of *Constantinople* sent, according to Custom, his Confession of Faith to the new Pope, acknowledging therein two distinct Wills in Christ as well as two distinct Natures, and anathematizing all, who acknowledged one Will only, or only one Nature. This Letter the Pope immediately answered, and without reproaching the Patriarch with, or taking the least Notice of his late Conduct, owned him for his Colleague, and admitted him to his Communion, and to that of the Catholic Church <sup>n</sup>.

*John dies,  
and Germa-  
nus is trans-  
lated to that  
See.*

Year of  
Christ 716.

*John* died soon after, and upon his Death *Germanus*, of whom we shall have frequent Occasion to speak in the Sequel, was translated from the See of *Cyzicus* to that of *Constantinople*. *Germanus* was descended of a Patrician and illustrious Family; but his Father, by Name *Justinian*, having been concerned in a Conspiracy against *Constantine Pogonatus*, on the Accession of that Prince to the Throne, he was by his Order put to Death, and his Son, though yet a Child, made an Eunuch <sup>o</sup>. In the Reign of *Philippicus*, the *Monothelite* Emperor, he yielded, as well as most other Bishops, to the Times, acknowledging, or pretending to acknowledge, only one Will in Christ: But having afterwards distinguished himself, under the Catholic Emperor *Anastasius*, by his Zeal for the Doctrine of two Wills, and besides, being reckoned one of the most learned Men of his Time, he was, upon the Death of *John*, named with one Voice by the People, the Clergy, and the Senate of *Constantinople*, to succeed him in that See <sup>p</sup>.

*The Emperor  
Anastasius  
deposed, and  
Theodosius  
chosen in his  
room.*

The new Pope wrote to the Emperor, as soon as ordained, to acquaint him with his Promotion, and give him, according to Custom, an Account of his Faith. But *Anastasius* was in the mean time deposed, and *Theodosius* raised to the Empire in his room. Of this

<sup>l</sup> Anast. in Greg. II.  
<sup>o</sup> Zonar. in Constantin.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. See above, p. 173.

<sup>n</sup> Idem ibid.  
<sup>p</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. Incarnat. secund. Alexandrin. 707.

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

1

Revolution *Theophanes* gives us the following Account, and with him *Nicephorus* and *Cedrenus* agree. *Anastasius* being informed that the Fleet of the *Saracens* had sailed to *Phœnicia*, to cut Wood there for the Use of their Navy, he ordered his Fleet to assemble at *Rhodes* from the different Ports of the Empire, and to sail from thence in Quest of the Enemy. The Fleet assembled accordingly, at the appointed Place; but the two Admirals, *John*, Deacon of the great Church (the Ecclesiastics did not think it inconsistent with their Calling, to fight against the *Saracens*), and the Patrician *Obficius*, falling out before they went to Sea, the Seamen took the Part of the latter, killed *John*, whom they hated on account of his Severity, and thinking they could by no other Means escape the Punishment due to their Crime but by chusing a new Emperor, declared *Anastasius* unworthy of the Empire; and obliged the first Man they met, one *Theodosius*, a Per-  
Year of  
Christ 7  
Theodo-  
chusen in  
room.  
son of a mean Extraction, and then Receiver of the Revenue at *Adramyttium*, to accept of the Purple. *Anastasius*, upon the first Notice of the Revolt, fled to *Nice* in *Bithynia*; leaving a strong Garrison in *Constantinople*; which City the Rebels, sailing from *Rhodes*, immediately invested by Sea and by Land, and took, by the Treachery of some of the Inhabitants, after they had continued six Months before it, and lost a great Number both of their Men and their Ships. *Anastasius*, hearing the Metropolis was reduced, and chusing rather to trust to the Mercy of his Rival, than to suffer more Blood to be shed, delivered himself up to him; and was, upon his renouncing all Claim to the Empire, and promising to take the Habit of a Monk, banished by him to *Theffalonica*, after he had reigned two Years, and eight Months <sup>9</sup>. *Theodosius* was very little acquainted with Matters of Religion; but being told by those about him, that the Doctrine of two Wills was the true Catholic Doctrine, and that it had been taught by the Apostles and the Fathers, he confirmed the Laws, which his Predecessor had issued against all who taught or professed any other.

In the mean time the *Lombards* in *Italy*, improving to their Advantage the distracted State of the Empire, took by Surprize the City of *Cumæ*. As the *Roman* Church possessed there a considerable Patrimony, and the Territories of *Rome* lay quite open, on that Side, to the Incursions of the *Lombards*, so long as they conti-  
The Lo-  
bards /  
prise Ci

<sup>9</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. Incar. secund. Alexandrin. 707. Niceph. in Chron. Cedren. ad Ann. Anast. 2.

Year of  
Christ 716.

*The Pope  
persuades the  
Governor of  
Naples to  
fall on them,  
and retake it.*

*Two Obser-  
vations of  
Baronius.*

nued Masters of that Place; the Pope strove by all means to persuade them to restore it, threatening them with the Indignation of the Prince of the Apostles, and Vengeance from Heaven, for so wicked an Attempt, and even offering to pay them a large Sum, and besides assuring them of the Protection of St. *Peter*, if they withdrew their Troops, and abstaining from all further Hostilities, renewed the Peace, which they had concluded with the Empire. But the *Lombards* paid no kind of Regard to the Entrèaties, the Threats, or the Offers of the Pope, who therefore, thinking he might, on such an Occasion, recur to Arms, and employ Force against Force, wrote to *John*, Duke or Governor of *Naples*, exhorting him not to suffer so important a Place to remain in the Hands of the Enemies of the Empire, and engaging to pay him 70 Pounds Weight of Gold if he recovered it. The Duke agreed to the Proposal, and marching in the Night with *Theodimus*, Subdeacon of the *Roman* Church, at the Head of a strong Body of Troops, surprised the City in his Turn, put 300 of the *Lombards* to the Sword, and carried 600 of them back with him Prisoners to *Naples* <sup>h</sup>. *Baronius* observes here, and his Observation is not quite unworthy of Notice, that as no Man can be saved, who keeps what belongs to another, to take from him, even by Force, what he unjustly possesses, is in Effect delivering him from the Danger of eternal Damnation; and it was, according to him, with that alone, and not any temporal View, that the Pope encouraged the Governor of *Naples* to make War on the *Lombards*, and take from them what in Conscience and Justice they were bound to restore, and consequently could not be saved so long as they kept it <sup>i</sup>. As the Pope acted on so noble a Principle, it is a great Pity he should have forgot to mention it in the several Letters, which he wrote on this Occasion to the Governor and People of *Naples*. For in them the Importance of the Place, which the *Lombards* had seized, their Treachery in seizing it, and the Dangers, to which the *Roman* Territories were exposed while it continued in their Hands, are the only Reasons he alleges why they should by no means be suffered to keep it. The Annalist farther observes, that *Gregory*, a Man eminent for his Learning and Sanctity, did not scruple recurring to Arms, and recovering, by Force of Arms, the Possessions of the Church unjustly taken

<sup>h</sup> Anast. in Greg. II. & Paul. Diac. l. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 515. n. III.

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

187

away by the rapacious Laity, when all other Means of recovering them had proved ineffectual; and from thence he concludes, that the Successors of *Gregory* safely may, after the Example of so great and so holy a Pope, raise or hire Troops, and wage War, to recover what has been unjustly taken from them, or to defend what they justly possess. But whether this Doctrine, and the Conduct of *Gregory*, on which it is grounded, be agreeable or not to the Doctrine of our Saviour, *Resist not Evil; and if any Man will sue thee at the Law, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloke also*<sup>k</sup>; I leave the Reader to judge. To the two foregoing Observations, *Baronius* might have added a third; *viz.* that tho' the *Lombards* had seized, and refused to restore the rich Patrimony of *St. Peter* at *Cumæ*; *Gregory*, a Man eminent for his Learning and Sanctity, did not, on that Account, excommunicate and deliver up to *Satan* either them or their King; and from thence he might have concluded, that the Successors of *Gregory* ought to follow therein the Example of so great a Pope, instead of thundering Excommunications, Anathemas, Curses, as they now frequently do, and once a Year, with great Solemnity, against all, who encroach, or whom they apprehend to encroach, ever so little on the Lands and Goods of the Church.

Year of  
Christ 716.

The following Year the Emperor *Theodosius*, by the Advice of the Senate, as well as the chief Officers of the Army, who found him quite unequal to so great a Trust, especially at a time when the *Saracens*, growing daily more powerful, threatened the Metropolis itself with a Siege, resigned the Empire, and taking the monastic Habit, retired with his Son to a Monastery, in the City of *Ephesus*, and there spent, undisturbed by his Successor, the remaining Part of his Life in the Exercises of Piety and Religion (G). Upon his Resignation, *Leo*, surnamed *Isauricus*, or the *Isaurian*, because a Native of *Isauria*, was chosen with one Voice by the Sc-

The Emperor  
*Theodosius*  
resigns, and  
retires to a  
Monastery.  
Year of  
Christ 717.

*Leo Isauri-*  
*cus chosen to*  
*succeed him.*

<sup>k</sup> Matth. c. v. ver. 39, 40.

(G) He is honoured by the *Greeks*, as a Saint, and even said by them to have wrought Miracles after his Death. When near his End, he desired that the Word *ύγια* alone, that is, *Health*, might be put on his Tomb, and serve for his Epi-

taph, to signify, that Death alone can cure us of the many Evils and Complaints, to which we are subject (1). He had enjoy'd the Title of Emperor about one Year, and two Months.

(1) Cedren. ad Ann. Leon. 2.

Year of  
Christ 717.

Received  
with loud Ac-  
clamations at  
Constanti-  
nople, and  
crowned by  
the Patri-  
arch.

Sends his  
Confession of  
Faith to the  
Pope.

The Pope  
congratulates  
him on his  
Promotion.

nate and the Army, in his room, as a Man of known Abilities, of an unblemished Character, and by all thought the most capable of defeating the Designs of the *Saracens*, and retrieving the Honour of the Empire. He was of a mean Extraction, but of a most comely Countenance, of a majestic and graceful Mien, tall, well-shaped, and so engaging in his Behaviour, as to gain the Good-will and Affections of all, with whom he conversed. He served at first in the Quality of a common Centinel; but from that low Station he raised himself by his gallant Behaviour, and in the Course of a few Years, to the highest Posts in the Army. The two Emperors *Justinian* and *Anastasius* employ'd him, and always with Success, in several Expeditions against the Barbarians; and he was, when raised to the Imperial Dignity, Commander in Chief of all the Forces of the Empire, and at the Head of a powerful Army on the Frontiers of *Syria*, whither he had been sent to cover *Asia Minor* threatened by the *Saracens*. From thence he set out upon the first Intelligence of his Election, and arriving at *Constantinople* on the 25th of *March*, he was received there by the Senate, by the Officers of the Army, and the People, with all possible Demonstrations of Joy, and attended with repeated Acclamations to the Imperial Palace. The next Day he was crowned, with great Solemnity, by *Germanus* the Patriarch; and took on that Occasion the usual Oath, to maintain the Catholic Faith, as it had been taught by the Fathers, pure and undefiled<sup>1</sup>. The Ceremony was no sooner over, than he wrote a very respectful and obliging Letter to the Pope, to acquaint him with his Accession to the Crown, and at the same time sent him, according to Custom, his Confession of Faith, declaring therein, that he received, and ever would hold and maintain the true Catholic Faith, as established and defined by the six General Councils, and the Fathers.

With the Emperor's Letter, the Pope received one from the Patriarch, assuring him, that the Emperor was quite orthodox in his Belief; and that his Holiness might entirely depend on the Sincerity of his Protestations, and the Purity of his Faith. Upon the Receipt of these Letters the Pope, transported with Joy, wrote immediately to the Emperor to congratulate him, which he did with the

<sup>1</sup> Niceph. in Breviar.

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

189

warmest Expressions of Respect and Loyalty, on his Promotion to the Empire; and to let him know, that he not only received him to his Communion, and acknowledged him for his Sovereign, but would take care that the Christian Princes in the West should all court his Alliance, and live with him in perfect Friendship and Amity. His Images were accordingly, by means of *Gregory*, received with loud Acclamations in all the Provinces and Christian Kingdoms in the West, as well as in *Italy*, and at *Rome*; and he was every where acknowledged for lawful Emperor.

Year of  
Christ 717.

From this Time to the Year 721. we hear nothing of *Gregory*, besides his building or repairing several Churches and Monasteries, his striving to restore the decay'd Discipline among the Monks, and sending Missionaries to preach the Gospel (if what they preached at this Time may be called the Gospel) in Countries not converted to the Christian Religion<sup>m</sup>. In the Year 721. the Pope assembled a Council in *Rome*, and on the 5th of *April*, to correct some Abuses, that had begun to prevail in the West, especially in *Italy*. The Council consisted of twenty-two Bishops, among whom were one from *Scotland*, and another from *Spain*, who happened to be then at *Rome*, of eleven Presbyters, and five Deacons. The Pope presided, and by him were anathematized with the Approbation of the rest, and delivered up to *Satan*, in the eleven first Canons, all, who should thenceforth marry their Fathers, Brothers, or Sons Wives, their Nieces, Cousins, or Godmothers, or the Wives of Deacons and Presbyters: For the Deacons and Presbyters were still required, by the Canons of the *Roman* Church, tho' condemned and anathematized by the Fathers of the *Quinisext* Council<sup>n</sup>, to quit their Wives when they entered into Orders; and their Wives, tho' debarred from all Commerce with their Husbands, were not to marry so long as their Husbands lived. By the twelfth those are excommunicated, who consult Soothsayers and Sorcerers, or use Charms; and by the thirteenth all, who seize or possess Gardens, or other Lands belonging to the Church. In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth Canons are excommunicated and accursed one *Adrian*, who had married a Deaconess named *Epiphania*, the Deaconess who had consented to marry him, and all who had been any-ways aiding or assisting to them in so wicked an Action. By the seventeenth and last Canon, the Clergy are forbidden, on pain of Ex-

Year of  
Christ 721.

Canons issued  
by this Council.

<sup>m</sup> Anast. in Greg. II.

<sup>n</sup> See above, p. 153.

commu-

Year of  
Christ 721.

communication, to wear long Hair<sup>o</sup>. These Canons were signed by all, who were present, and in the first Place by *Gregory* himself in the following Terms, *I Gregory, Bishop of the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome, have signed this Constitution published by us.*

Winfrid, or  
Boniface,  
comes to  
Rome.

While the Pope was thus employ'd, arrived at *Rome* from *Germany*, where he had preached the Gospel with great Success, *Winfrid*, afterwards Archbishop of *Mentz*, and known by the Name of *Boniface*, a Man entirely devoted to the See of *Rome*, and one, who had no less at Heart the Interests of that See, than those of the Christian Religion itself. He was a Native of *England*, and having embraced the Monastic Life there, he passed over into *Friseland* in 716. to preach the Gospel to the People of that Country. But a War breaking out between *Charles Martel* and *Radbodus*, King of *Friseland*, he returned to *England*, and two Years after undertook, according to the prevailing Humour of those Times, a Pilgrimage to *Rome*. As he was warmly recommended to the Pope by *Daniel*, Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, *Gregory* received him with extraordinary Marks of Kindness and Esteem, and finding him a Man quite fit for his Purpose, he empowered him, with his Blessing, and the Blessing of *St. Peter*, to preach the Gospel not in *Friseland* only, but all over *Germany*, appointing him his Legate to all the *German Nations*. *Winfrid*, thus vested with the necessary Powers, and well furnished with Reliques, a Commodity now in great Vogue, returned to *Friseland*; and having, in the Course of a few Years, established Christianity there, as well as in *Thuringia*, in *Hess*, and in some Parts of *Saxony*, he dispatched one of his Companions, pursuant to the Instructions he had received from the Pope, to acquaint his Holiness with the Success of his Mission. *Gregory* was pleased with the Account of the wondrous Things he had done, gave Glory to God and *St. Peter*, and at the same time wrote to *Winfrid*, to congratulate him on his Success, and require him to repair to *Rome* as soon as he conveniently could. *Winfrid*, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, interrupting for a while his Apostolic Labours, hastened to *Rome*, where he was, a few Days after his Arrival, ordained Bishop, the Pope changing, on that Occasion, the northern and barbarous Name of *Winfrid* into that of *Boniface*.

Sent by the  
Pope to  
preach in  
Germany.

He returns  
to Rome, and  
is ordained  
Bishop.

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

191

As Gregory had appointed him his Legate to all the Inhabitants of Germany, and vested him with the Legatine Power, he required him, under that Pretence, to take the following Oath, at the Tomb of St. Peter, as soon as he was ordained; and he took it accordingly: *In the Name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the seventh Year of our most pious Emperor Leo, in the fourth of his Son Constantine, and in the seventh Indiction, I Boniface, by the Grace of God, Bishop, promise to you, blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to blessed Gregory your Vicar, and to his Successors, by the undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by this your most sacred Body, to maintain to the last, with the Help of God, the Purity and Unity of the Holy Catholic Faith; to consent to nothing contrary to either; to consult in all Things the Interest of your Church, and in all Things to concur with you, to whom Power has been given of binding and loosening, with your above-mentioned Vicar, and with his Successors. If I shall hear of any Bishops acting contrary to the Canons, I shall not communicate, nor entertain any Commerce with them, but reprove and retrieve them, if I can; if I cannot, I shall acquaint therewith my Lord the Pope. If I do not faithfully perform what I now promise, may I be found guilty at the Tribunal of the eternal Judge, and incur the Punishment inflicted by you on Ananias and Sapphira, who presumed to deceive and defraud you P.*

Year of  
Christ 723.

The Oath he  
took on that  
Occasion.

When Boniface had taken this Oath (and it is the first Instance that occurs in History, of an Oath of Obedience, or, as we may call it, of Allegiance, taken to the Pope), he laid it, written with his own Hand, on the pretended Body of St. Peter, saying, *This is the Oath, which I have taken, and which I promise to keep.* And indeed how strictly he kept it, what Pains he took to establish, not in Germany only, but in France, the sovereign Power of his Lord the Pope; and bring all other Bishops to the abject State of Dependence and Slavery, to which he himself had so meanly submitted, will appear in the Sequel.

He lays it in  
the Tomb of  
St. Peter.

The Day after his Ordination, the Pope, whom he was bound to obey, presented him with a Book of the Laws or Canons of the Roman Church, charging him to take those Laws, and the Customs of that Church, for the Rule of his Conduct, and the Conduct of

He sets out  
on his Return  
to Germany.

† Othlon. in vit. Bonifac. l. 2. c. 1. 14. 20. et Willibald. in ejusdem Vit. c. 5.

his



Year of  
Christ 723.

Recommend-  
ed by the Pope  
to Charles  
Martel.

His Instruc-  
tions.

his Clergy, as well as of the People, whom he should convert. The Book of the Gospeis was, it seems, now become too unfashionable to be recommended to the Christian Converts, for the Rule either of their Faith, or their Practice. *Boniface* was ordained on the last Day of *November*, and on the second of *December* he set out from *Rome* on his Return to *Germany*, carrying with him commendatory Letters from the Pope to *Charles Martel*, who at that time governed the Kingdom of *France* with the Title of Mayor of the Palace: To all Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Dukes, Counts, and all Christians fearing God: To the Clergy and People, whom *Boniface* had converted: To the Christians of *Thuringia*, and particularly to five of them, whom he names, and who had, with great Firmness and Constancy, suffered Persecution for the sake of their new Religion: To the Pagans of *Thuringia*: And lastly, to the People of the Province of the *Alt-Saxons*, that is, of the antient *Saxons*. These Letters are all dated the first of *December*, the Day after the Ordination of *Boniface*, and before his Departure from *Rome*. In them the Pope exhorts those, to whom they are addressed, to assist the Apostle of *Germany*, for so he styles him, to the utmost of their Power, and hearken to his Instructions; promises eternal Life to those, who shall concur with him in promoting the great Work which he has undertaken; and eternally damns all, who shall presume to obstruct it<sup>a</sup>. In his Letter to the Clergy and People, whom *Boniface* had converted, he acquaints them with the Instructions he had given him: And the Instructions were, I. To admit none to holy Orders, who had been twice married, or who had not married a Virgin; and none, who were illiterate, who were maimed in any Part of their Body, who had performed public Penance, were entangled in secular Affairs, or had been branded with any Mark of Infamy. II. To ordain no *Africans*, most of them being disguised *Manichees* or *Donatists*. III. To confer holy Orders on the *Saturdays* of the Ember Weeks only. IV. To administer the Sacrament of Baptism at *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, and at no other Time, unless in case of Necessity. V. To strive to increase the Ornaments and Estates of the Church, and take care never to lessen or impair them. VI. To divide the Ecclesiastical Revenues, as well as the Oblations, into four Shares, one to be

<sup>a</sup> Othlon. l. 1. c. 20.

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

193

given to the Bishop, another to the Clergy, the third to the poor, and the Pilgrims, and the fourth to be employ'd on the Fabric <sup>r.</sup> Year of Christ 723.  
These Instructions Gregory copied *verbatim*, from an Epistle written by Pope *Gelasius* in 494. to the Bishops of *Lucania*, of the *Bruttii*, and of *Sicily* <sup>s.</sup>

Of Gregory nothing else occurs in History worthy of Notice, till the Year 725. when he received at Rome *Ina*, or, as *Bede* calls him, *Hun*, King of the *West-Saxons*, who, having resigned his Kingdom after a Reign of thirty-seven Years, and renounced the World to embrace a monastic Life, went this Year in Pilgrimage to the Tombs of the Apostles <sup>t.</sup> He was perswaded by his Queen *Ethelburg*, a most religious Woman, according to the Religion of those Days, to undertake that Journey, as well as to quit both his Kingdom and the World; and she attended him to Rome, retiring on her Return to *England* to a Monastery, where she spent the remaining Part of her Life <sup>u.</sup> To retire from the World, to bury one's Talents in a Monastery, and to become thereby quite useless, or rather burdensome, to the Public, was deemed, at this time, the Height of all Christian Perfection, and a full Atonement for all kinds of Sins (K). This Notion seems to have prevailed chiefly in *England*; Ina, King of the West-Saxons, embraces a monastic Life at Rome. Year of Christ 725.  
for in the Compass of 220 Years, we read of no fewer than 30 Monks prevail chiefly in England.  
*English* Kings and Queens laying down their Crowns, to bury themselves in Monasteries; and, by that means, robbing the People, for whose sake they had, by kind Providence, been placed in that Station, of the Blessing they enjoy'd under their wise Administration. Their Example was followed by such Multitudes of People of all Ranks, Conditions, and Callings, that *Bede*, tho' a Monk himself, and a great Admirer of the Monkish Profession, seems to have apprehended, that great Mischiefs would thence, in Process of Time, arise to the State. For, speaking of the Crouds, that flocked daily to Monasteries, he expresses himself thus: *Peace being established in the Kingdom of Northumberland, both the Nobility and com-* The Evils thence arising to the State.

<sup>r</sup> Othlon. l. i. c. 20.  
Ann. 722. n. 17.

<sup>s</sup> Gelas. ep. 4. Vide Coint. in Annal. Eccl. Franc. ad  
<sup>t</sup> Bed. l. 5. c. 7. <sup>u</sup> Malmf. de gest. Reg. Ang. l. i. c. 2.

(K) In the Collections ascribed to *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Ceremony of putting on the Monkish Habit is called a second Baptism, and said to be no less effectual than the first in cleansing them, who take it, from all Sin (1).

(1) Concil. t. 6. Labb. col. 1875.

Year of  
Christ 725.

Bede's Opin-  
ion of the  
Monasteries  
of his time.

*mon People, laying aside the Exercise of Arms, betook themselves to Monasteries, and persuaded their Children to retire thither too: But what this will end in, time must shew.*<sup>w.</sup> The same Venerable Historian, in the Letter he wrote in 735. a little before his Death, to Egbert, Archbishop of York, tells that Prelate, that it is his Duty to make, together with the King, such Regulations with respect to Monasteries, as might be most for the Honour of God, and the Good of his Country, lest, their Numbers increasing, the Kingdom should thereby lose its main Strength, and be rendered incapable of withstanding a foreign Invasion<sup>x.</sup> In the same Letter he advises Egbert to lessen, with the Approbation of the King and his Council, the Number of Monasteries, rather than suffer them to increase; to erect in their stead new Episcopal Sees, and endow them with the Lands and Revenues of the suppressed Monasteries, that *those Houses, of which many, he says, are, as we all know, unworthy of the Name of Monasteries, may be thus brought from serving the Ends of Pride and Vanity, to bear Part of the necessary Charges attending the Episcopal Office*<sup>y.</sup> He adds, that to employ thus the Wealth of such Monasteries, was no Crime, but rather a great Instance of Wisdom and Virtue; it being no more a Crime in one Prince, to convert the mistaken Charities of another to better Uses and Purposes, than it is a Crime in a just and wise Judge to reverse a wrong Judgment, or in a good Clerk or Scribe to correct the Mistakes of a bad one. From these Words, and from what he farther adds, *viz.* that notwithstanding the great Number of Monasteries there was scarce a Place fit for the Education of Youth, or for Men, who were tired of the World, to retire to<sup>z,</sup> it is manifest that Monasteries were far from being, even at this time, those Schools of Learning and Virtue, which the Legendary Writers would persuade us they were.

England never tributary to Rome.

But to return to *Ina*; he is said, by *Polydore Virgil*, to have made his Kingdom tributary to the Pope and St. *Peter*, and to have laid on every House, or Family, in his Dominions, the Tax of a Silver Penny, known by the Name of *Rome-scot*, or *Peter-pence*, to be paid annually to the Pope, or St. *Peter*, as a Token of their Subjection to the Apostolic See<sup>a.</sup> But the Truth is, that

<sup>w</sup> Bede Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 4.  
<sup>x</sup> Idem ibid. p. 260, 261.

<sup>y</sup> Idem, Ep. ad Egbert. p. 259.  
<sup>z</sup> Polydor. Virg. l. 5.

<sup>a</sup> Idem

Tax was imposed by *Ina*, with a Design, as *Matthew of Westminster* informs us, to build a House, or, as we may call it, a College, in *Rome* for the Education of the Youth of his Kingdom, as well as for the Reception of such of his Successors or Subjects, as should undertake Pilgrimages, now daily undertaken in *England*, by Persons of both Sexes, and all Ranks, to the Tombs of the Apostles; and to that Use it was apply'd. For with the Money accruing from that Tax, *Ina* not only built and endowed a House, where the *West-Saxon* Youth were educated, and the Pilgrims received and entertained, but likewise a Church adjoining to it, and dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, where the *English* performed Divine Service, and were buried if they happened to die at *Rome*. That College, or School, as it is called by our Historians, was afterwards enlarged, and its Revenues greatly increased, by *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, who in 794. imposed the same Tax on his Subjects, and for the same Purpose. But the House being, some time after, consumed with Fire, *Ethelwolph*, not satisfy'd with rebuilding it at an extraordinary Expence, and with great Magnificence, imposed, for its better Support, on the whole Kingdom, the Tax of *Rome-scot*, or *Peter-pence*, till then, that is, till the Middle of the ninth Century, levied only in *Wessex* and *Mercia*. These Charities, for they were no more than Charities, have been, by *Polydore Virgil*, and after him, by all the Popish Writers, turn'd into Tributes; as if the three above-mentioned Kings had made their Kingdoms tributary to *Rome*, and had thereby acknowledged themselves the Vassals of their Liege Lord the Pope. But of that, tho' worthy of particular Observation, not the least Notice is taken by any of our antient Historians; nay, *Matthew of Westminster* and *Matthew Paris* tell us in express Terms, that the Money arising from the foresaid Tax was sent to *Rome*, for the Support of the *English* there, and that it was raised for that Purpose <sup>b</sup>. But that Charity the Popes afterwards abused, converting it to their own Use; and it was, in all Likelihood, to excuse that Misapplication and Abuse, that they pretended it was not a Charity, but a Tribute to St. *Peter*, which they might consequently dispose of at their Pleasure. However that be, certain it is, that the same Tax was continued all over *England*, and levied, when there was no farther Occasion for it, by Collectors sent from

Year of  
Christ 725.

<sup>b</sup> Matth. Paris in Vit. Willegod.

Year of  
Christ 725.

*Rome* (one of whom was *Polydore Virgil*, who came first into *England* with that Character), till *Henry VIII.* quarreling with the Pope, eased his People of that Burden.

The Pope's  
Answer to  
some Doubts  
of Boniface.  
Year of  
Christ 726.

The following Year the Pope received a Letter from *Boniface*, the Apostle of *Germany*, containing several Questions or Doubts to be resolved by him, and among the rest these two; I. Whether Children, Sons or Daughters, when offered up to God by their Parents, and placed by them in Monasteries, may, when they attain to the Years of Discretion, quit their Monasteries, and marry. II. Whether a Man, whose Wife is by Sickness rendered incapable of complying with the conjugal Duty, may in that Case marry another. To the first the Pope answers, that it is not lawful for Children, consecrated to God by their Parents, to change their State, and marry; and consequently that they must observe Celibacy, though not their own Choice, and live continent, whether they have the Gift of Continency, or have it not. A most equitable Decision, and intirely agreeable to the Doctrine of *St. Paul* <sup>d</sup>! In Answer to the second, *Gregory* would have the Husband to contain, if he can; but declares it lawful for him, if he cannot, to marry another Wife <sup>e</sup>. If so, why should not those, who have been offered up to God by their Parents, be nevertheless allowed to marry, if they cannot contain? Why should not a Deacon, a Presbyter, and even a Bishop? Is any Vow or Promise they can make more binding or sacred than the Vow of Matrimony? But the Doctrine, laid down here by the infallible Pope, is now rank Heresy in the Church of *Rome*; and the Council of *Trent* denounces Anathema against all, who think the Bond of Matrimony dissoluble in any Case whatever, even in Case of Adultery <sup>f</sup>; it being as a Sign or Emblem, says *Bellarmino* <sup>g</sup>, of the indissoluble Conjunction of *Christ* with his Church.

Leo commands the  
Montanists  
and Jews to  
receive the  
Sacrament of  
Baptism.

The Church had now for the Space of twelve Years, that is, ever since the Year 713. when *Philippicus*, the *Monothelite* Emperor, was driven from the Throne, enjoyed a profound Peace and Tranquillity; none daring under the two succeeding Emperors *Anastasius* and *Theodosius*, nor indeed under the present Emperor *Leo*, to profess the *Monothelite* or any other Doctrine condemned by the Church; nay, *Leo*, though in other respects a very wise Prince, suffering himself to be carried by his Zeal beyond all Bounds, issued an Edict in the

<sup>d</sup> 1 Corinth. c. vii. ver. 9.  
cil. Trident. Sess. 24. Can. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Greg. Ep. 13. Concil. l. 6. p. 1446.  
<sup>g</sup> Bellar. de Matrim. l. 1. c. 16.

<sup>f</sup> Con-  
cilio  
sixth

sixth Year of his Reign, commanding the *Montanists*, or the Followers of the famous *Montanus* <sup>b</sup>, and even the *Jews*, to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, and profess the Christian and Catholic Faith, on Pain of Death, and the Forfeiture of all their Effects. With that Edict the *Jews* pretended to comply; but the *Montanists*, <sup>The Jews</sup> more honest than they, chose rather to die than dissemble; and shutting <sup>comply, but</sup> themselves up in their Houses by common Consent, or, as they pre- <sup>not the Mon-</sup> tended, by Divine Inspiration, set Fire to them, and consumed themselves and all their Effects in the Flames i.

But the Emperor, however zealous in maintaining and propagating the Catholic Faith, could not approve of a Custom or Practice, which <sup>The Emperor</sup> had begun to obtain, and which he found, to his no small Surprise, <sup>shocked at the</sup> several Prelates of the Church, and among the rest the Patriarch him- <sup>Worship that</sup> self, more inclined to favour and promote, than to oppose or dis- <sup>was given to</sup> countenance; I mean the Practice of worshiping Images so much ab- <sup>Images.</sup> horred, and so often condemned, by the primitive Church, and the Fathers. For the People, not satisfied with using Images only for Instruction, or as Helps to Devotion and Memory, the only Ends for which they had been first allowed, and very unadvisedly, to be set up in Churches and Places of Worship, had begun to use them no longer as Helps to, but as the Objects of their Devotion, bowing down to them, prostrating themselves before them, kissing them, &c. But that Kind of Worship *Leo* looked upon, and so did the Bishops, whom he consulted on so important an Occasion, not only as plainly repugnant to the Worship, *in Spirit and Truth*, recommended by our Saviour in the Gospel, but as rank Idolatry, and as expressly forbidden in the Decalogue as Theft, Murder, or Adultery. He had <sup>He resolves to</sup> therefore resolved, as soon as he was at Leisure from his Wars, and <sup>abolish it.</sup> the more urgent Affairs of the State, to put a Stop to the growing Superstition, and restore the Christian Worship to its primitive Purity. Pursuant to that Resolution, having at length by his Valour and Conduct settled the Empire in Peace, he undertook the intended Reformation; and undertook it the more readily, as he looked on the surprising Success, that had attended his Arms, as a sure Token of the Approbation of Heaven, and a certain Pledge of a particular Assistance and Protection in carrying the Design he had formed into

<sup>b</sup> See Vol. I. p. 29.

<sup>i</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. Incarn. 714.

Year of  
Christ 726.

Not unap-  
prised of the  
Difficulty of  
such an Un-  
dertaking.

Execution. The wise Prince was not unapprised of the Difficulty of such an Undertaking, and the Danger, to which it would expose him, of losing his Crown, and perhaps his Life too: For though the Worship of Images had but lately begun to obtain, though it had not yet been approved by any Council or Assembly of Bishops whatever; yet as it was wonderfully suited to the Inclination and Humour of the People, it obtained already among them almost universally, especially in the Imperial City, being countenanced there by the Patriarch. Besides, the Monks, who had a great Ascendant over the ignorant Multitude, and had begun to feel the good Effects of the new Superstition in the Wealth of their Churches and Monasteries, had all to a Man declared for it, preached it to the People, and daily confirmed it with the most absurd Tales of Visions and Miracles invented by them for that Purpose. The Emperor therefore well knew, that the Monks would every-where oppose, to the utmost of their Power, the designed Reformation, and exert the same Zeal in stirring up the Populace against him as had been formerly exerted by the Craftsmen of *Ephesus*, in stirring up the Populace against the Apostle of the Gentiles preaching, *that they be no Gods, which are made with Hands* <sup>k</sup>. However, thinking it incumbent upon him to attempt, at all Events, the Cure of so great an Evil, and being at the same time terrified with some extraordinary Events, which had lately happened, and which he looked upon as so many Tokens of the Wrath of Heaven against the People for the idolatrous Worship, which they gave to Images, as well as against himself for conniving

He acquaints  
the Senate  
and Clergy  
with his De-  
sign, and is-  
sues an Edict  
against Im-  
ages.

at it, he resolved to endure it no longer. Having therefore assembled, in one or two distinct Councils, the Clergy and the Senate (for he is said on this Occasion to have called a Synod, and convened the Senate), he acquainted them with his Design; and finding several Bishops ready to concur with him in the Execution of it, and, no doubt, the greater Part of the Laity, who could have no Interest in opposing such an Undertaking (L), he issued an Edict forbidding any

<sup>k</sup> Acts c. xix. ver. 26.

(L) As all Records and Writings against Images were, by the ninth Canon of the second Council of *Nice*, ordered to be destroyed, we know nothing of this but what we read in the Acts of that Council; and there it is said, that several Bishops, and

among the rest *Constantine* Bishop of *Nacolia*, in *Phrygia*, approved of *Leo's* impious Design, and concurred with him in the Execution of it. It was not therefore without consulting a single Bishop, and only at the Instigation of some of the most wicked

any kind of Worship to be thenceforth given to Images, and caused it to be immediately notified to all the Subjects of the Empire.

Year of  
Christ 726.

This famous Edict the Emperor published in the tenth Year of his Reign, the twelfth of Pope Gregory the second of that Name, and 726th of the Christian Æra; a Year ever memorable in the ecclesiastical Annals for the Dispute, to which that Edict first gave occasion, and the unheard of Disturbances which the Dispute it occasioned raised both in the Church and the State. And truly this, it must be owned, was the most, I may say, the only important Controversy that had been yet moved in the Church; the Parties disagreeing, not about mere metaphysical and empty Speculations, whether in Christ was one Person or two, one Nature or two, one Will and one Operation, or two Wills and two Operations? but concerning a most essential and practical Point of the Christian Religion and Worship, whether, notwithstanding the Divine Prohibition, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image, &c. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them*, it was lawful to make graven Images, to bow down to them, to worship them? And here it is to be observed, that Leo did not by his Edict order at once, as is supposed by *Baronius*<sup>1</sup>, Images to be every-where pulled down, to be cast out of the Churches, and broken, but only forbid them to be worshiped; nay, he was not, it seems, at first, averse to the Use of Images as Ornaments, or even as Helps to Devotion and Memory, provided no Worship was given to them: For, at the same time that he forbid them to be worshiped, he ordered them to be placed higher in the Churches, that, as Men were divided in their Opinions about them, they might neither be worshiped nor abused; and it was not till he found by Experience, that, so long as Images were allowed, Idolatry could not be prevented, for so he called it, that he ordered them to be cast out of the Churches, and broken.

Leo did not  
by this Edict  
command  
Images to be  
destroyed, but  
only forbid  
them to be  
worshiped.

The later Greek Historians, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, *Glycas*, and *Constantine Manasses*, to prejudice their credulous and ignorant Readers against the Emperor *Leo*, and his present Undertaking, will have the above-mentioned Edict to have been issued by him at the Instigation of the *Jews*, the avowed Enemies of the Christian Religion; and the

That Edict  
not issued at  
the Instiga-  
tion of the  
Jews.

<sup>1</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 726.

wicked among the Laity, that *Leo* undertook to make War upon Images, as has been confidently advanced by *Baronius*, and after him by *Maimbourg*, and other Popish Writers.



Year of  
Christ 726.

Story they invented for that Purpose, though destitute even of the least Appearance of Truth, and only calculated for the dark and ignorant Ages in which they wrote, is still gravely related by the Advocates for the Worship of Images, in the Account they give us of the first Rise or Origin of what they call the Heresy of the *Iconoclasts*, or Breakers of Images <sup>m</sup> (M). But what were the true Motives that induced

<sup>m</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 726. n. 2. Maimbourg. Hist. de l'Herésie des Iconoclast.

(M) They gravely tell us the following Tale, which I should not have thought worthy of a Place in this History, were it not delivered by *Baronius*, by *Maimbourg*, by *Natalis Alexander*, and many others, as a Truth not to be questioned. While *Izid* or *Jezid*, Caliph of the *Saracens*, reigned in *Syria*, two *Jews*, well skilled in Magic and Astrology, being admitted to his Presence, under colour of having something of great Moment to communicate to him, assured him, that he would be blessed with a long and happy Reign, provided he caused the Images, which the Christians worshiped, to be demolished throughout his Dominions. The Caliph gave entire Credit to the two Impostors; and a most rigorous Edict was immediately issued against Images. But Providence interposed in their Defence, and the unhappy *Jezid* died before his Edict could be put in Execution. He was succeeded by his Son *Mobavias*, who resolved to revenge the Death of his Father on the *Jewish* Impostors, being, no doubt, fully satisfied, that it was a Judgment upon him for having hearkened to them, and at their Instigation attempted to destroy the Christian Images: But the *Jews*, by a timely Flight into *Isauria*, escaped the Punishment that was due to their Crime. While they were travelling in that Province, they one Day happened to meet a young Lad named *Conon*, driving an Ass loaded with small Wares to sell about the neighbouring Villages; and having observed something very extraordinary in his Mien and Deportment (for they were, it seems, as well skilled in Physiognomy, as in Astrology and Magic), they invited him to sit down and refresh himself with them. The Youth complied; and the *Jews*, having learned of what Country he was, his Name and Profession,

and the Names and Profession of his Parents, assured him thereupon, that, notwithstanding the Meanness of his Birth, and his present Condition, he would one Day attain to the Empire. The Jesuit *Maimbourg*, in his History of the *Iconoclasts*, or *Image-breakers*, or rather in the Romance, which he wrote on that Subject, tells us even at what Hour of the Day the *Jews* and young *Conon* met on the Road; points out the very Place where they sat down together; relates several Particulars of that Conversation, which his original Authors, less accurate than he, had passed over in Silence; nay, and even informs us, how *Conon*, in the mean time, disposed of his Ass; inso-much that from his Account one would conclude that he had been one of the Company (1). *Conon*, less credulous than the Caliph, gave at first no Ear to the *Jews*, thinking that they only diverted themselves at his Expence, and took Delight, like common Fortune-tellers, in feeding him with vain Hopes. But as they positively affirmed, that what they had foretold him would certainly come to pass, and affirmed it over and over again with great Gravity, he began at last to hearken to them, and asked them what Reward they expected for so flattering and pleasing a Prediction: As to Reward, answered the *Jews*, we expect no other for the present, but that you promise, upon Oath, to grant us what we shall ask when our Prediction is fulfilled, and you in a Condition to grant it. *Conon*, now no longer questioning their Sincerity, repaired with them, as they required him, to the neighbouring Church of the Martyr St. *Theodore*; and there, being assured anew by the two Fortune-tellers, of his future Promotion, and besides of an hundred Years of Life, he bound himself, by a solemn Oath, to grant them, when raised to the

(1) Maimb. Hist. des Iconocl. l. 1.

duced *Leo* to put a Stop to the Worship of Images, we have seen already ; and besides, what matters it whether it was by a Christian or a *Jew*, by a Bishop or a Rabbi, that he was persuaded to forbid that Kind of Worship? If it is a Thing unlawful in itself to worship Images, it would have been no less commendable in him to have forbidden them to be worshiped at the Persuasion of a *Jew*, or a *Ma-hometan*, than at the Persuasion of a Christian ; as it would be no less commendable in a Prince to issue severe Laws against Theft, Murder,

Year of  
Christ 726.

the Empire, whatever they should ask. They then took Leave of each other ; and *Conon*, of a Pedlar, became at once a Candidate for the Empire, went immediately and inrolled himself in the Army, changing his former Name into that of *Leo*, as better suiting his new Profession. And truly his Behaviour was answerable to his Name ; for, relying on the Promise of the *Jews*, and consequently regardless of all Danger, he distinguished himself on all Occasions in a most eminent Manner ; and thus, rising by Degrees, he was at last, after thirty Years Service, appointed Commander in chief of all the Imperial Forces, and soon after raised to the Empire. He was scarce seated in the Throne, when the two *Jews*, appearing before him, and putting him in mind of his Promise, challenged the Performance of it, since their Prediction was at last fully accomplished. The Emperor, now satisfied that they were not Impostors, but true Prophets divinely inspired, and apprehending that as they had raised him from the lowest Station in Life to the highest, so they might from the highest degrade him into the lowest, told them, that he well remembered his Promise, that he owned himself indebted to them for the Empire, and was therefore ready to comply with their Demands, be they what they would. Hereupon the *Jews*, as being of all Men the most void of Self-interest, instead of laying hold of so favourable an Opportunity to enrich themselves, or to obtain some advantageous Grant or Exemption in behalf of themselves, and their Nation, at this very time most miserably oppressed, contented themselves with asking the same Favour of the Emperor, which they had asked thirty Years before of the Caliph ;

that he would cause the second Commandment to be strictly observed by the Christians, and order, for that Purpose, the Images, to which they paid, in Defiance of that Commandment, an idolatrous Worship, to be destroyed throughout his Dominions. The Emperor was greatly surprised, and well he might, at the Disinterestedness of the *Jews*, and their Zeal for the Observance of the Law ; and no less was he pleased with their asking what it would cost him nothing to grant, when they might have asked, and he expected they would, half the Wealth of the Empire. He therefore renewed, with great Joy, the Promise, which he had formerly made ; and, in Compliance with it, issued, in due time, the above-mentioned Edict. Thus the Historians, whom I have quoted above ; and what Credit they deserve I leave the Reader to judge, only observing here, that of such an extraordinary Event not the least Notice is taken by any of the contemporary Historians, nor indeed by any Writer whatever, till near 400 Years after it is said to have happened ; that by no Emperor were the *Jews* more cruelly persecuted than by *Leo*, who is supposed to have been indebted to them for the Empire ; that the Fathers of the second Council of *Nice*, whose Authority no Papist will question, suppose *Izid* to have issued his Edict against Images at the Instigation of the *Jews*, in the seventh Year of *Leo's* Reign ; and consequently, that if their Authority may be relied on, the whole Account of the Adventure of *Leo*, of his meeting, while yet a Youth, the *Jews*, who had deceived *Izid*, of his being foretold by them, that he should one Day attain to the Empire, &c. must be a mere Fable.

Year of  
Christ 726.

or Adultery, at the Persuasion of a *Jew*, than at the Persuasion of a Christian. The *Jews* indeed were, it must be owned, the first Iconoclasts, nay and for many Ages the only Iconoclasts in the World; as they were for many Ages the only true Worshipers of the true God; and we never find them rebuked by their Prophets for their Aversion to Images; but, on the contrary, most severely punished and reprov'd, when of Iconoclasts they became Iconolaters, and worshiped Images instead of breaking them.

What the  
Doctrine and  
Practice of  
the primitive  
Church were  
concerning  
Images.

The above-mentioned Edict was no sooner published, than the Monks took the Alarm, and with them the Populace. But as, in order to justify the many enormous Excesses, which they committed; and I shall have Occasion to relate, they pretended that the Practice of setting up and worshiping Images, condemned by *Leo*, had been ever approved by the Church; and therefore branded that most religious and excellent Emperor with the reproachful Names of *Innovator*; *Apostate*, *Heretic*, nay, and *Heresiarch*, as if no Christian before him, but *Jews* only, and *Saracens*, had thought such a Practice unlawful, or presumed to condemn it; it may not be improper to enquire, before I proceed, what was the Practice, and what the Doctrine, of the primitive Church, concerning the Subject of the present Dispute, that the Reader may judge who were the *Innovators*, the *Apostates*, the *Heretics*, the Emperor in forbidding Images to be worshiped, or they, who, in Opposition to him, maintained and countenanced that kind of Worship.

No Images  
worshiped or  
used during  
the three first  
Centuries of  
the Church.

And first, as to the Practice of the primitive Church; that the Christians, for the first three Centuries after Christ, and the greater Part of the fourth, neither worshiped Images, nor used them in their Worship, has, by several Protestant Divines, been so fully proved from the concurring Testimonies of all the Primitive Fathers, that many eminent *Roman* Catholic Writers, ashamed to dispute so plain a Truth, have ingenuously owned it (N). But *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, *Turrianus*, *Binius*, *Natalis Alexander*, and the far greater

(N) These are the learned *Petavius* and *Pagi*, the one a *Jesuit*, and the other a *Franciscan*; *Nicholas de Clemangis*, *Girardus*, *Polydore Virgil*, *Mendoza*, *Cassander*, *Erasmus*, &c. There was little or no Use of Images during the four first Centuries, say *Petavius* and *Pagi* (1). The universal Church, says *de Clemangis*, decreed that no Images should be placed in the Churches (2). As the Romans were some time (for the Space

(1) *Petav. Theologic. Dog. l. 5. c. 13.* *Pagi Critic. Bar. ad. Ann. 56.* (2) *De Clemang. Lib. de Nov. Celebrit. p. 151.*

greater Part of the Popish Divines, chusing rather to contradict all the Fathers, than allow the Protestants to have Antiquity on their Side in so important a Dispute, Antiquity, to which they so often appeal, will have the Use and Worship of Images to be as ancient as the Christian Religion itself. To prove that, they gravely allege a Decree, supposed to have been made in a Council held by the Apostles at *Antioch*, commanding the Faithful, *That they may not err about the Object of their Worship, to make Images of Christ, and to worship them*<sup>a</sup>; nay, they are not even ashamed to relate, and urge against Protestants, all the absurd and ridiculous Tales, that are told by *Evagrius*, *Metaphrastes*, *Damascene*, *Nicephorus Callistus*, *Theodorus Lector*, and other fabulous Writers, concerning the following Images; the Image of our Saviour, sent by our Saviour himself to *Abgarus*, King of *Edeffa* (A); another of our

Year of  
Christ 726.

Sa-

<sup>a</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 102. Binius Not. in Concil. Antioch. t. 1. p. 62.

of 170 Years) without Images, says *Giraldus*, so were we Christians, in that Church which is called primitive (3). The Worship of Images was condemned, as appears from *St. Jerom*, by almost all the Holy Fathers, says *Polydore Virgil* (4), for fear of Idolatry. And *Mendoza*, The primitive Bishops abstained for a while from the Worship of Images (that is, for the Space of 700 Years, as shall be shewn), lest the Heathens should deride them, or imagine that the Christians worshiped them as Gods (5). How much the Christians abhorred all Veneration of Images in the Beginning of the Church, *Origen* alone sufficiently shews in his Book against *Celsus*, says *Cassander* (6). *Erasmus* owns, that to the Days of *Jerom*, who died in 420. Men of approved Religion would suffer no graven or painted Images in Places of Worship (7). And *Petrus Crinitus* finds Fault with some of the Fathers, especially *Lactantius* and *Tertullian*, for suffering themselves to be so transported by their Zeal against the Images of the Heathens, as to condemn Images, and the Worship of Images, in general (8).

(A) *Evagrius* writes, that *Abgarus*, King of *Edeffa*, being extremely desirous of seeing our Saviour, invited him, by a Letter, into his small Kingdom; and that finding from his Answer he was not to expect so great a Favour, he sent a Painter into *Judea*, to draw his Picture. This the Painter attempted; but being dazzled by the Brightness of the Glory, that shone in his Face, and unable to proceed, our Saviour took a Piece of Linen Cloth, imprinted his Picture on it, and sent it to *Abgarus*. Thus *Evagrius* (1), and after him *Metaphrastes* (2), *Damascene* (3), *Nicephorus Callistus* (4), *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, &c. But of this famous Image no Mention is made by any Writer whatever, before the time of *Evagrius*, that is, till the latter End of the sixth Century; for that Author ended his History, such as it is, in the 12th Year of the Emperor *Mauritius*, that is, about the Year 595. of the Christian Æra. *Eusebius*, who wrote near 300 Years before *Evagrius*, mentions indeed the pretended Letters from *Abgarus* to our Saviour, and from our Saviour to *Abgarus* (5); and even translated them out

(3) *Girald. Syntagm. l. 1. p. 14.* (4) *Polydor. Virgil. de Invent. Rerum, l. 6. c. 13.* (5) *Mendoz. de Concil. Elib. l. 3. c. 5.* (6) *Cassand. Consult. cap. de Imagin. p. 168.* (7) *Erasm. Vol. 5. Symbol. Catech. p. 989.* (8) *Petr. Crin. de Honr. Disciplin. l. 9. c. 9.* (1) *Evagrius 4. c. 26.* (2) *Metaphrast. in Vit. Constantin.* (3) *Damascen. de Imaginib.* (4) *Niceph. l. 2. c. 2.* (5) *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. versus fin.*

Year of  
Christ 726.

Saviour made by *Nicodemus* (B); the famous *Veronica*, or *Holy Handkerchief* (C); a Picture of Christ, and seven of the Virgin *Mary*, drawn by *St. Luke*, whom they suppose, upon the Authority of *Meta-*

of *Syriac* into *Greek*; but takes no kind of Notice of the above-mentioned Picture. A plain Proof, that in his time the Fable of the Letters was already invented, but not the Fable of the Image, or the Picture. I say the Fable of the Letters, which I hope no *Roman Catholic* will take amiss, since it was proscribed as such, by Pope *Gelasius*, in a Council of seventy Bishops (6). These Letters, it is true, are quoted by Pope *Adrian* as genuine (7). But was *Adrian* more infallible than *Gelasius*, who condemned them as apocryphal?

(B) The Bishops of the second Council of *Nice*, an Assembly of the most remarkably credulous and ignorant Men that perhaps ever met, to prove the Antiquity of the Use and Worship of Images, told a wonderful Story of an Image of our Saviour made by *Nicodemus*, perhaps when he came to *Jesus* by Night. That Image, said the good Fathers, had been long worshiped by all true Christians in the City of *Berytus* in *Syria*. But some sacrilegious *Jews* having found Means to convey it away, and crucify'd it out of Hatred to Christ and the Christians, there issued from it, as if Christ himself had been crucify'd anew, an incredible Quantity of Blood and Water, which was sent into all Parts of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe* (8). For this Tale the Council quoted a Treatise on the Passion of the Image of our Lord, which they ascribed to *St. Athanasius*. But that *St. Athanasius* was not the Author of that Treatise, is allowed even by *Bellarmino*, who, speaking of that Work, expresses himself thus: "The Treatise on the Passion of the Image of our Lord was quoted, read, and received, by the second Council of *Nice*, under the Name of *St. Athanasius*. But it seems to have been written by a much later Author; and *Sigebert* informs us in his Chronicle,

"that the Miracle related there happened in the Year of our Lord 766. when the Lawfulness of Image-worship first began to be questioned (9)." So that, to prove the Antiquity of the Use and Worship of Images, a Miracle was alleged by the very learned Bishops of that venerable Assembly, which had been wrought, according to *Bellarmino* and *Sigebert*, in their own time, and but twenty Years before they met; for that famous Council was first opened in the Year 786. But that it was not wrought in their time, and consequently in no other, is evident from their supposing it to have been wrought 400 Years before. And here I cannot help observing the Disingenuity of *Bellarmino*, allowing, in his Book on the Ecclesiastical Writers (1), the above-mentioned Treatise to be the Work of a much later Writer than *Athanasius*, nay, and the supposed Crucifixion and Miracle to have happened about the Year 766. and yet pretending, where he undertakes to prove the antient Use of Images (2), the same Treatise to have been written by a very antient Author, because it was quoted by the Fathers of the Council, as a very antient Work; which is allowing, in the one Place, the Fathers to have been mistaken in quoting it as an antient Work, and proving it in the other (where the more antient it was, the better it served his Purpose) to be an antient Work, because it was quoted as such by the Fathers.

(C) We are told, that as our Saviour was carrying his Cross to Mount *Calvary*, a pious Woman, named *Veronica*, seeing him bathed in Sweat, under so great a Burden, and touched with Compassion, made her Way through the Crowd, and wiped his Face with a Handkerchief; and that our Saviour, to reward the good Woman for that small Relief, left the Impres-

(6) Tom. 3. Concil. et apud Gratian. dist. 15. Can. *Sancta Romana*. in Respons. ad Capitul. Carol. Mag. c. 18. (8) Con. Nic. 2. Act. 4. lib. de Imagin. c. 12.

(7) *Adrian*. (9) *Bellarmino*. (1) *Idem* ibid.

(2) *Idem*.

*Metaphrastes*, a Writer of the ninth Century, to have been her Secretary, and an eminent Painter (D). But of the supposed Apostolical Decree no mention is made, no Notice is taken, by any Writer whatever,

Year of  
Christ 726.

sion of his Countenance on the Cloth. That Image, called by the Name of its original Owner, the *Veronica*, is supposed to have been brought to *Rome*, in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius*; and there it is kept to this Day, and exposed, at solemn Times, to public Adoration; the many Miracles, says *Pamelius* (2), that are daily wrought by it, leaving no room to question its Authenticity. It is once a Year visited, and solemnly worshiped, by the Pope, and all the Cardinals; and the following Prayer is appointed to be said at the shewing of it: *Hail, holy Face of our Redeemer, printed upon a Cloth white as Snow; purge us from all Spot of Vice, and join us to the Company of the Blessed. Bring us to our Country, O happy Figure! there to see the pure Face of Christ.* Reasonable Requests indeed, to be made to a painted Handkerchief! To every Repetition of this Prayer Pope *John XXII.* annexed ten thousand Days Indulgence. As that Cloth is supposed to have touched the Body of Christ, it is worshiped with the Worship of *Latria*, that is, with the same Supreme or Sovereign Worship that is due to God; and it has an Altar consecrated to it in the Church of *St. Peter* at *Rome*, called *The Altar of the most Holy Handkerchief*. But of this wonder-working Image no Mention is made, nor is the least Notice taken, by any Writer whatever, during the long Dispute about the Antiquity and Lawfulness of Images, nor indeed during the first ten Centuries after Christ. And who can believe, that such an Image could have remained so long utterly unknown to the Christian World; or, if it had been known, that no Writer would have mentioned it; that none of the Advocates for Images, not even the Fathers of the second Council of *Nice*, who believed every old Woman's Story they had ever heard, would have availed themselves of it against their Adversaries? An Image of our Saviour made by himself, would have been a stronger Proof

of the Lawfulness of Images, than one made by his night Disciple *Nicodemus*. As for the Miracles said and believed to be daily wrought by the *Veronica* at *Rome*, no less stupendous Miracles are said and believed to be daily wrought by the *Veronica* in *Spain*, and by another at *Jerusalem*. For in these three different Places *Veronicas* are shewn, are worshiped with the Worship of *Latria*, and by their respective Votaries proved to be Originals from the Miracles they daily work. This Multiplication of *Veronicas* occasioned warm Disputes, each of the contending Parties pretending theirs to be the Original, and the other two only Copies, till a lucky Discovery of the Jesuit *Greser* put an End to the Quarrel: For by him it was found out, that the Handkerchief of *Veronica* had three Foldings, that on each of them our Saviour imprinted a distinct Image, and consequently that they are all Originals. It were to be wished, that *Greser* had likewise discovered, and let us know, where these three Originals were kept concealed from all Mankind, for the Space of one thousand Years and upwards.

(D) We are told by *Nicephorus Callistus* (3), that *St. Luke* drew a Picture of our Saviour, and no fewer than seven of the Virgin *Mary*; and what he writes is confirmed by the following Inscription, which I have often seen, in one of the Chapels of *Santa Maria in Via Lata* in *Rome*: *Here was formerly the Oratory of St. Paul the Apostle, of St. Luke the Evangelist, and of St. Martial, all three Martyrs; and here was likewise found the Image of the blessed Virgin Mary, one of the seven that were painted by St. Luke* (4). *It was at Rome*, says *Paulus Aringhus*, speaking of this Inscription, *that the Worship of the Virgin Mary was first begun, and recommended to the World; there St. Luke made War on the Iconoclasts with his Pen-cil, which served him instead of a Sword against the Heretics, Enemies of Images* (5).

(2) Pamel. Annot. in Apologet. Tertull. c. 12.  
(4) Paul. Aring. Rom. subterr. l. 3. c. 12.

(3) Niceph. Hist. l. 14. c. 2.  
(5) Idem ibid.

Year of  
Christ 726.  
*No Proof of  
the Use of  
Images a-  
mong Christi-  
ans, much  
less of the  
Worship.*

2dly, Allowing all that is *said* to be true, it will not follow from thence, that the Use of Images was so early introduced among Christians: For *Eusebius* supposes the Woman, who erected the Statue of our Saviour, to have been a Pagan; nay, and ascribes the erecting it to a Pagan Custom. *No wonder*, says he, *that the Pagans thus preserved the Remembrance of the Benefits, which they had received of our Saviour. It was their Custom to transmit to Posterity such Marks of Gratitude to their Benefactors; and I myself have seen several Pictures of Christ, and his Apostles Paul and Peter, thus preserved by them to our Days* <sup>f</sup>. It is quite surprising, that this Passage should be alleged, as it is on all Occasions, by the Advocates for Image-worship, to prove that the Use and Worship of Images obtained among Christians in the earlier Times; when, on the contrary, it evidently proves, that in the time of *Eusebius*, or in the Beginning of the fourth Century, it was still thought a Heathenish Custom to make any Images of Christ, or his Apostles.

*That Statue  
not worship-  
ed by the  
Christians.*

But the above-mentioned Statue, say *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, and *Natalis Alexander*, was placed in the *Diaconicon* or Vestry of the Church of *Paneas*, and worshiped there by the Christians. This they confidently affirm upon the Authority of *Nicephorus Callistus*, whom *Baronius* himself styles a Writer of Fables, and *Bellarmino* the most fabulous of all Writers. And truly had they but looked into *Philostorgius*, of whom *Nicephorus* borrowed all he says of that Statue, they would have been confirmed in the Opinion, which they entertained of him. For whereas *Nicephorus* says, that the Christians kept the Statue, and worshiped it, *Philostorgius* tells us in express Terms, That they carefully preserved it, *but paid no kind of Worship to it, because it is not lawful for Christians to worship Brass, or any other Matter* <sup>h</sup>; no, not Brass, or any other Matter, tho' representing Christ himself. I shall add here the Answer given by *Charlemagne* to those who in his time instanced the above-mentioned Statue to prove the Antiquity of the Use and Worship of Images. *That Story*, says he, *tho' we should allow it to be true, is quite foreign to the Subject in Debate; that Image having been erected by a weak ignorant Woman, to ex-*

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 18.  
Eccles. Hist. l. 7. c. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Niceph. l. 10. c. 30.

<sup>h</sup> Philost.

*press her Gratitude after the best Manner among the Gentiles. Year of  
And what is that to the Church of God? Should we even suppose <sup>Christ 726.</sup>  
miraculous Cures to have been wrought by the Herb, that grew at <sup>Why Images</sup>  
the Foot of the Statue, it would not follow from thence, that <sup>were neither</sup>  
Men are to worship Images, but rather that they ought to quit <sup>used nor wor-</sup>  
their Idols, and embrace the true Faith, Signs not being, according <sup>shipped in the</sup>  
to the Apostle, for Believers, but Unbelievers <sup>Primitive</sup> <sup>Times.</sup>*

These are the only Instances, that have been yet alleged to prove the Antiquity of the Use and Worship of Images, but Instances so very little to the Purpose, even in the Opinion of many learned Roman Catholic Divines, that they have chosen to give up the Question rather than allege them, and ingenuously owned, as has been observed above, that for the first four Ages after Christ, there was little, or no Use at all of Images among Christians. But it was not, <sup>Reasons</sup> say they, because the primitive Christians thought the Use and Wor- <sup>alleged by the</sup>  
ship of Images unlawful in themselves, that they forbore to use <sup>Advocates</sup>  
and to worship them, but lest they should thereby give Offence to <sup>for Images.</sup>  
the Gentiles, who might think that the Christians worshiped their Images as they worshiped theirs, or should at least expose such of them as embraced the Christian Religion to the Danger of Idolatry, that is, of paying the same Worship to the Images of Christ and the Saints after their Conversion, which they had paid to the Images of the false Gods before their Conversion. But these Motives ceasing when Idolatry was quite rooted out, and the Christian Religion established in its room, the Christians, finding Images great Helps to Devotion, and seeing no Reason why they should still forbear the Use of them, thought it adviseable to admit them into their Churches, and give them due Worship, for the sake of those, whom they represented <sup>i</sup>. Thus they account for the Christians not having nor worshipping Images, while Idolatry prevailed over the Christian Religion, that is, for the three first Centuries of the Church, and the greater Part of the fourth; and for their using and worshipping them, when the Christian Religion prevailed over Idolatry.

But the primitive Christians have, themselves, accounted for their <sup>Reasons</sup>  
neither using nor worshipping Images; and the Reasons, which they <sup>alleged by the</sup>  
allege why they neither used nor worshiped them, are such as must <sup>Primitive</sup>  
<sup>Christians</sup>  
<sup>themselves.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Carol. Lib. de Imagin. l. 4. c. 15. <sup>i</sup> Petav. Dogm. Theolog. ubi supr.  
Anton. Pagi. Critic. Bar. ad Ann. 56. Francif. Pagi Brev. Pont. Rom. t. 1. p. 522.  
Dupin. Nouv. Biblioth. t. 2. p. 306.



Year of  
Christ 726.

hold good in all Times, in the Times when the Christian Religion prevailed over Idolatry, as well as in those when Idolatry prevailed over the Christian Religion. For the chief Reasons we find alleged by them, against the Use as well as the Worship of Images, are; because all material Images of the Deity are *unworthy of God*, are *unsuitable to his Divine Nature*, *debase his Godhead*, and *lessen his Majesty*. *It is an Injury to God*, says *Justin Martyr*, *to make an Image of him of base Wood or Stone*<sup>k</sup>. *Visible Representations of the Deity*, says *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *lessen his Majesty*, and *make him contemptible*<sup>l</sup>; such Representations of the Trinity, as are frequently seen in the Churches abroad, of an old Man holding a Crucifix in his Hand, with a Dove on his Shoulder; or of an old Man on the one Side with a Globe, and a younger on the other with a Cross, and a Dove between them; or of an old Man in the Dress of the Pope; for as they blasphemously call the Pope God upon Earth, so they sometimes blasphemously represent God the Father, as the Pope of Heaven. What Images among the Pagans more debased the Divine Nature, or were better calculated to beget a mean Opinion of God in the Minds of the ignorant Multitude? And yet these and such-like Representations are allowed in the Church of Rome, and *Clement XI.* in our Days condemned some, who, shocked at seeing *the Truth of God thus changed into a Lye, and the Glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man*, had ventured to censure them. *Clemens Alexandrinus* commends *Numa* for forbidding Images of God like to Man, or to any living Creature; and says, that he acted therein very wisely (more wisely than the infallible Head of the Church), *since God ought only to be represented to our Minds*<sup>m</sup>. And *St. Austin*, after quoting *Varro*, saying that the *Romans*, for the Space of 170 Years, worshiped the Gods without Pictures or Images; that their Worship would have been more pure, had Images never been introduced; and that they, who first introduced them, took away from Men the Fear of the Gods, and added to their Error; *St. Austin*, I say, after quoting that Passage, and approving it, adds, that if *Varro* had dared to speak his Mind openly against so antient an Error, he would have said, that one God ought to be worshiped; and that he ought to be worshiped without an Image, Images

The Primitive Christians thought it a thing unlawful in itself, to make any Images of the Deity.

<sup>k</sup> Justin. Apol. 2. p. 44.  
et Protrept. p. 46.

<sup>l</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Idem, Strom. 2.

*serving only to bring the Deity into Contempt*<sup>m</sup>. The same Father declares elsewhere, *That it would be impious in a Christian to set up a corporeal Image of God in a Church; and that he would be thereby guilty of the Sacrilege condemned by St. Paul, of turning the Glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man*<sup>n</sup>. Year of Christ 726.

From these Passages, and many more might be alleged to the same Purpose, it is manifest beyond Contradiction, that the primitive Christians thought it a Thing unlawful in itself even to make any Images, or Representations, at least, of the Deity; and consequently that it was not, as is pretended, out of any temporary Motive, that they abstained from the Use of such Images in their Worship.

The other Reasons, which they alleged, in their Disputes with the Gentiles, against the Use and Worship of Images, are taken either from the Nature of the Images themselves, or from the Prohibition of the Divine Law; and consequently such as extend to all Images, and must necessarily hold good in all Times. The Reasons taken from the Images themselves are, that they are the Work of Mens Hands, made of Earth, the same Earth with that, of which Vessels are made for the most common and meanest Uses<sup>o</sup>; That they are destitute of Life, and all Sense; incapable of assisting those, who apply to them, or hurting those, who despise them; more insignificant than the most imperfect Insect, and less worthy of Worship<sup>p</sup>; That the Works of God are not to be worshiped, much less the Works of Men; That it were more reasonable to worship the Artificers; and that the Images themselves, were they not destitute of all Sense, would worship those, who made them<sup>q</sup>; That Birds, Mice, and Spiders, have less Folly than Men, since they despise, and even defile, without Fear, the Things, before which Men fall down with Fear and Trembling<sup>r</sup>; That the Objects, worshiped by Images, would laugh at that Kind of Worship, if capable of Laughter; and would be provoked by it to Indignation, if subject to Anger<sup>s</sup>; That, if they are in Heaven, we ought to direct our Eyes to Heaven, and not to Stones, to Wood, or to Walls<sup>t</sup>; That Man is the living Image of God, and therefore can worship no Image but what is less worthy of Worship than himself,

<sup>m</sup> Aug. l. de Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 5. et l. 4. c. 32. <sup>n</sup> Idem de Fide, et Symb. c. 7.

<sup>o</sup> Lact. l. 2. c. 3. <sup>p</sup> Tertull. Apol. c. 12. Minuc. p. 26. Arnob. l. 6. p. 202.

<sup>q</sup> Lact. l. 2. c. 2. Athan. contr. Gent. Aug. in Psal. cxiii. <sup>r</sup> Tertull. Apol. c. 12.

Minuc. p. 22. Clem. Alex. Protrep. Lact. Arnob. Aug. ubi supra. <sup>s</sup> Arnob. l. 6.

p. 189. <sup>t</sup> Idem, p. 195.

Year of  
Christ 726.

whom yet it would be a Crime to worship <sup>t</sup>: And are not all Images, even the Images of Christ, and the Virgin *Mary*, the famous *Madonna of Loreto* not excepted, the Work of Mens Hands, made of Earth, destitute of Sense and all Life, incapable of assisting those, who apply to them, &c. and, on that Consideration, no more worthy of Worship than the Images of the Heathens? If the Fathers had thought that any Images whatever might, at any Time whatever, be lawfully worshipped, they would not have thus condemned that Worship in general; and condemned it for Reasons, that evidently conclude against the Worship of all Images, and in all Times.

The second  
Command-  
ment under-  
stood by the  
Fathers, as  
forbidding  
the Use and  
Worship of  
all Images  
whatever.

The other Reason, which the primitive Fathers or Christians alleged why they neither used Images in their Worship, nor worshipped them, was the Prohibition of the Divine Law, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image*, &c.; and that Prohibition they understood as extending to all Images made with respect to the Worship of God, and consequently to the Images of Christ, of the Virgin *Mary*, of the Saints and Angels, and of the true God as well as of the false and Heathenish Gods. *We Christians*, says *Origen*, *have nothing to do with Images on account of the second Commandment* <sup>u</sup>; *the first Thing we teach those, who come to us, is to despise Idols, and all Images, it being the peculiar Character of the Christian Religion to raise our Minds above Images, and all Worship of Creatures, agreeably to the Law, which God himself has given to Mankind* <sup>w</sup>. The same Father distinguishes elsewhere between Worship and Service; and, after telling us, that Worship belongs to the Body, and Service to the Mind, he adds, *But we are forbidden by the Divine Law to give either to any Image or Similitude* <sup>x</sup>; so that; by the second Commandment we are forbidden, according to *Origen*, to perform any external Act of Worship, such as bowing down, kneeling, &c. to any Image whatever. When the *Jews* and *Christians* were, on account of their Enmity to Images, compared by *Celsus* to the *Scythians*, the *Numidians*, the *Seres*, and other barbarous Nations, that had neither Civility nor Religion, *Origen* answered, that Men should examine the Reason and Motive of the Action as well as the Action, since those, who acted alike, might act upon very different Principles; and consequently the same Action might in some be worthy of Reproach, and of Praise in others; that the *Jews* and

<sup>t</sup> Laët. l. 2. c. 17,

<sup>u</sup> Orig. cont. Cels. l. 7.  
Exhort. ad Martyr. et in Exod. Hom. 8.

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid. l. 5.

<sup>x</sup> Idem,

Christians.

Christians agreed indeed with some barbarous and lawless Nations in abstaining from the Use and Worship of Images, but disagreed in the Motive, their only Motive being to obey the express Command of God, saying, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image, &c.* and that the Christians, in Compliance with that Command, would rather die than defile themselves with such Impieties <sup>7</sup>. And it is to be observed, that *Origen* does not allege here the second Commandment as a Reason why the *Jews* and Christians did not use nor worship the same Images, that were used and worshiped by the Heathens; but why they neither used nor worshiped any Images of their own: For it was because they had no Images at all, none even in their own Way of Worship, that *Celsus* compared them to the barbarous and lawless Nations mentioned above. With *Origen* the other Fathers all agree: *God by his Law forbids all Similitudes*, says *Tertullian*, especially the Similitude of himself <sup>2</sup>; and in Answer to those, who alleged, or might have alleged, the Instance of the brazen Serpent, against this general Command, he reasons thus; *God by his Law forbade the making of any Likeness; and it was by an extraordinary Command that he required the Likeness of a Serpent to be made. If thou observest the same God, thou hast his Law, Make no Likeness. As to the Command of making a Likeness afterwards, do thou also imitate Moses; make no Image whatever against the Law, unless God command thee also, in particular, so to do* <sup>3</sup>: And, in the same Treatise, *Every Figure*, says he, *is by the Law of God an Idol, and every Service performed about it is Idolatry* <sup>b</sup>. The Sense of the Law, says *Lactantius*, is, that nothing is to be worshiped, that is seen <sup>c</sup>. The Idols, says *St. Cyprian*, which the Law forbids us to make, or to worship, are such as the Prophet describes, saying, *They have Eyes and see not, Ears and hear not, &c* <sup>d</sup>. that is, all Images that are worshiped; whomsoever they represent. By the first Commandment, says *St. Austin* (for he and *Fulgentius* call the first Commandment what all the other Fathers call the second), *All Similitudes, even of God himself, are forbidden to be worshiped, because no Image of God is to be worshiped, but what is God himself; neither is that to be worshiped in his stead, but together with him* <sup>e</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 726.

<sup>7</sup> Idem ibid. l. 7. p. 357.    <sup>2</sup> Tert. de Spect. c. 23.    <sup>a</sup> Idem de Idololat. c. 5.  
<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. c. 3.    <sup>c</sup> Lact. l. 2. c. 2.    <sup>d</sup> Cypr. Exhort. Martyr.    <sup>e</sup> Aug.  
Ep. 119. c. 11.

Year of  
Christ 726.  
And by some,  
as forbidding  
the very Arts  
of Painting  
and Engra-  
ving.

Some of the Fathers, namely, *Tertullian* <sup>f</sup>, *Clemens Alexandrinus* <sup>g</sup>, and *Origen* <sup>h</sup>, were of Opinion, that, by the second Commandment, the very Arts of Painting and Engraving were rendered unlawful to a Christian, stiling them *evil* and *wicked Arts*, Arts invented, and brought into the World, by the Devil. *We Christians*, says *Clemens of Alexandria*, are plainly forbidden to exercise these deceitful Arts, the Prophet saying, *Thou shalt not make the Likeness of any thing in Heaven, or on the Earth* <sup>i</sup>. *Origen* commends the *Jews* for suffering no Painter or Statuary in their Republic, as acting therein agreeably to the Divine Law <sup>k</sup>. The Divine Law proclaims, says *Tertullian*, *Thou shalt make no Idol, and, adding, neither the Likeness of any thing in Heaven, or in the Earth, has forbidden the Servants of God to exercise such Arts*. And to the Excuse of the Image-maker, saying, *I have no other Means of earning a Livelihood*, he answers, *What hast thou to do with God, if thou wilt live by thy own Laws? The Church permits all Men to labour; but not to labour in those Arts, which the Discipline of God does not allow* <sup>l</sup>. Had *Tertullian* only thought it unlawful, as some have understood him, to paint or engrave Images of the false Gods, and not of the true God, of Christ or the Virgin *Mary*, he would have naturally exhorted the Painters and Engravers to paint and engrave them, to copy the Picture, which our Saviour sent to the King of *Edeffa*, the *Veronica*, or some of the Pictures drawn by *Nicodemus* and *St. Luke*, and not required them, as he absolutely does, to quit their Profession, and earn a Livelihood by some other Means. It is true that the Fathers, who thought it unlawful for a Christian to exercise the Arts of Painting and Engraving, suffered themselves to be transported by their Zeal against Images, beyond the Bounds of all Reason: But yet, their thinking so, whether right or wrong, plainly shews, that the Church, in their Days, neither used, nor thought it lawful to use, Pictures or Images in their Worship, under any Colour or Pretence whatever, not even as *Helps to Memory*, or *Books for those who could not read*; for if she had, she never would have suffered the Arts, to which she owed such *Books* and *Helps*, to be thus condemned as unlawful.

<sup>f</sup> Tertull. de Idol. c. 3.  
contr. Cels. l. 6. p. 182.  
p. 321.

<sup>g</sup> Clem. Alex. Almonit. ad Gent. p. 41.

<sup>h</sup> Clem. Protrept. p. 30.

<sup>i</sup> Tertull. de Spect. c. 23. et de Idol. c. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Orig.  
<sup>l</sup> Orig. ubi supra, l. 6.

The Popish Writers, to elude the Testimonies of the Fathers, thus condemning the Worship, the Use, and even the Making of Images, <sup>Year of Christ 726.</sup> would have us to understand them as speaking only of the Images of <sup>The Heathens</sup> the Heathens, or of the Worship of Images as practised by the Hea- <sup>neither wor-shiped their Images as Gods, nor false Gods through them.</sup> thens, who, they say, either worshiped the Images themselves as Gods, or worshiped false Gods through them; and were, on that Account, condemned by the Fathers, and deservedly condemned, as guilty of Idolatry: But that, they say, does not at all affect the Worship, which they give to Images, since they neither worship them as Gods, nor worship false Gods through them, but the true God, or his Saints and holy Angels; for on them the Worship terminates, that is given to their Images: But, I. The Fathers thought it unlawful to worship, to use in their Worship, or even to make any Images of the true God, as has been proved above. II. They alleged the second Commandment as a Reason, why they neither worshiped the Images of the Heathens, nor any of their own, as has been likewise shewn; and consequently thought it a Breach of that Commandment to worship either. III. The Heathens, I mean the wiser Heathens, who stood up for the Worship of Images in Opposition to the Fathers, neither worshiped their Images as Gods, nor did they worship false Gods through them: That they did not worship their Images as Gods, but only as Representations of the Beings, which they worshiped, whatever those Beings were, has by a very eminent Writer been made to appear evident beyond Contradiction, from the Testimonies of the Christian as well as the Heathen Writers <sup>m</sup>. And indeed, none but Fools and Idiots could think, as was observed by *Celsus*, that the Wood or Stone of their Images made and governed the World; that an Image, made by a Smith or a Carpenter, was the Creator of the World, the Maker of the very Man who made it, and of the very Metal of which it was made (B). Neither did they worship false Gods through

<sup>m</sup> Stillingfleet's Defence of the Discourse of Idolatry, &c. p. 382. et seq.

(B) Images, says *Maximus Tyrius*, are only intended to help our Memory, and a kind of Manuduction to the Gods; but no more like to them, than Heaven is to the Earth: And a few Lines after, *Whether Men*, says he, worship God by the Art of *Phidias*, as the Greeks do, or by the Wor-ship of living Creatures, after the manner of the Egyptians, or by the Worship of Rivers, or of Fire, as is practised by other Nations, I condemn not the Variety; let them only understand, love, and remember him, whom they worship (1). You are mistaken, say the Heathens in *Arnobius*, if you think

(1) Max. Tyr. Diss. 38.

through their Images, but, according to the different Opinions that obtained

that we look on our Images as Gods: We do not believe, that the Brass, the Silver, the Gold, and the other Materials that compose them, are Gods of themselves, nor do we worship them; but in them those, to whom they are consecrated; and who dwell in them, in virtue of their Consecration (2): And St. *Austin* introduces a Heathen speaking thus; I do not worship that visible Sign, or Image; but the invisible Deity, that dwells in it (3). And here we may observe, that, as the Roman Catholics believe the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints, to be in a particular manner present in their Images, after they are consecrated; and to be in a more particular manner present in some, than in others; for in some they work Miracles, and not in others; so did the Heathens believe, that their Gods were present, after a particular manner, in their Images; and made, as it were, to dwell in them by their Consecration. In the famous Apology, which *Athenagoras* wrote for the Christian Religion, in the latter End of the second Century, and dedicated to the two Emperors *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Commodus*, the Heathens are brought in declaring, that Images were only Representations of the Gods, to whom they were consecrated; and that the Honours, Gifts, and Sacrifices, offered to the Images, did not belong to them, but to the Gods, whom they represented (4): The Emperor *Julian*, as zealous an Advocate for the Worship of Images, and as orthodox, with respect to that Article, as the Pope himself, reasons thus on that Subject; He, who loves the King, takes Pleasure in seeing the Picture of the King; and he, who loves his Child, or his Father, loves every Representation of his Child, or his Father: In like manner he, who loves the Gods, loves every Representation of the Gods; and, beholding their Images, secretly fears and reverences them: And, in another Place, The Images of the Gods, says he, were placed by our Ancestors, as Signs and Symbols of their Presence; not

that we should believe them to be Gods, but that we should worship the Gods, by giving Worship to them (5). The very Doctrine of the Church of Rome, with respect to the Worship of the Saints, and their Images. *Tully*, in his Treatise on the Nature of the Gods, will have the Gods to have been first represented in human Shape, either by the Advice of wise Men to bring the ignorant Multitude the more easily to worship them, or out of Superstition, that when they worshipped the Images, they might believe that they approached and worshipped the Gods themselves (6). When *Symmachus* pleaded, under the Emperor *Valentinian*, for the Toleration of the Pagan Religion, he alleged the following Reason in behalf of Paganism, that the same God was worshipped by all; and that, by several Ways, Men aimed at the same End (7). And it is observable, that *St. Ambrose*, who answered him, does not charge the Pagans with worshipping their Images as Gods; but finds fault with them for worshipping the true God by Images, when he has declared, that he will not be worshipped after such a manner, *Non vult se Deus in Lapidibus coli, God will not be worshipped in Stocks and Stones* (8). To these Testimonies I shall add one more, that of *Plutarch*, who speaking of the Egyptian Idolatry, that is, of the Worship of living Creatures, as practised by the Egyptians, tells us, that though the ignorant and superstitious People worshipped the living Creatures themselves, as Gods, and thereby exposed their Religion to Scorn and Contempt, their wiser Men did not worship the Animals, but looked on them only as Representations of some Divine Perfection, which they discovered in them, and through them worshipped the Deity: Nay, *Plutarch* thinks, that living Creatures are better Representations of the Divine Being, than Images, that have neither Life, Sense, nor Motion; and that God should rather be worshipped in his own Works than in the Works of Men (9). From these

(2) Arnob. l. 7. p. 200. 201.

(3) Aug. in Psal. cxliii.

(4) Athon.

Apol. p. 17.

(5) Julian. Oper. p. 537. 539.

(6) Cic. de Natur.

Deor. l. 1. c. 27.

(7) Symmach. l. 11. Ep. 54.

(8) Ambros. Relat.

Symm. 2.

(9) Plut. de Isid. p. 382.

obtained among them (C), either the true God, and him alone, or together with him, but in an inferior Degree, the Heavenly Intelligences, and deified Men, that is, Men, whom some extraordinary Excellency had raised above the Condition of other Men, and they, on that Account, stiled Gods, a Name given, even in Scripture, to Princes, to Judges, and to other Magistrates<sup>n</sup>: I said, *in an inferior Degree*; for they, who worshiped with the supreme God other inferior Deities, supposed the inferior Deities to have been all created by the supreme God, and to depend entirely upon him; and consequently could not worship them and their Images with the same Worship, which they gave to the supreme God and to his Images, but with an inferior Worship, that is, says *Augustinus Steuchus*, an *Italian* Bishop of great Reputation, *with that Worship, which is, with great Reason,*

Year of  
Christ 726.

<sup>n</sup> Exod. xxii. 28. Psal. lxxxii. 1. 6.

Passages it is manifest beyond all Dispute, that the wiser Heathens neither looked on their Images, nor worshiped them, as Gods; and consequently that the Worship of Images was not on that Account condemned in them by the Fathers as unlawful, or idolatrous.

(C) Some of the Heathen Philosophers, or, as we may call them, Divines, namely the *Stoics*, acknowledged but one God, the first Cause of all Things; and him alone they worshiped under different Names, Titles, and Representations: *We worship but one God*, says one of them, *Maximus Madaurensis*, under different Names, thereby to express his different Powers diffused through the World (1). The same Deity, says another, is worshiped under different Names, in different Images, and with different Customs (2). Thus, under the different Names, and in the different Images of *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Minerva*, &c. they worshiped one and the same God, meaning by *Saturn* his Eternity, by *Jupiter* his Power on the Earth, by *Neptune* his Power on the Sea, by *Minerva* his Wisdom, &c. as *Marsilius Ficinus* (3), *Cælius Rhodiginus* (4), *Simon Majolus* (5), and many others, have made it appear from the Writings of the *Stoic* Philosophers.

On the other hand the *Platonists* held a Plurality of Gods; not a Plurality of uncreated, and self-existent or independent Beings; but of inferior Beings, whom they called Gods, though they supposed them to have been created by, and to depend upon the supreme God: To the supreme God they gave the highest Adoration and Worship; and to the inferior Gods an inferior Worship, proportioning the Degrees of their Worship to the Degrees of the Perfections, which those Beings had received, or were supposed to have received, from the supreme God over all, as has been fully proved by the learned Cardinal *Bessarion*, in his Vindication of *Plato* (6). In short the *Platonists* worshiped the supreme God with the Worship of *Latria*, and the inferior Gods, that is, Angels and Saints, or Men, whom they believed to be Saints, with the Worship of *Dulia*, or *Hyperdulia*; insomuch that *Paulus Benius Eugubinus* could find no other Difference between the *Platonic* Principles of Worship, and those of his Church, but that the *Platonists* called those Gods, whom the Church called Angels or Saints (7): A very small Difference indeed between his Church and those, whom the Fathers accounted Idolaters!

- (1) Max. Madaur. apud Aug. Ep. 43. (2) Apuleius apud Metam. l. 11.  
(3) Ficin. in Platon. Phæd. (4) Cæel. Rhodig. Antiq. l. 16. c. 12. (5) Majol. Dies Canicul. Part. 2. Col. 1. (6) Card. Bessarion advers. Calumniat. Platon. l. 2. c. 3. (7) Paul. Eugub. Platon. et Aristot. Theolog. Decad. 2. l. 2.



Year of  
Christ 726.

given by us to Saints and Angels: And it is to be observed, that many of those, whom the Heathens stiled Gods, and worshiped with a relative, inferior, and subordinate Worship, are allowed by several Roman Catholic Writers to have been good Men, *the Servants of the great God*, as *Hierocles* called them p; and, according to the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, worthy of the Worship, that was given them q (D). If the Fathers therefore condemned, and condemned as idolatrous, the Worship of Images even in those, who neither worshiped the Images themselves as Gods, nor worshiped false Gods by them, according to the received Meaning of that Word, but either

o Auguft. Steuch. de perenni Philofoph. l. 5. c. 1. p Hierocl. apud Aug. Pfal. xcvi. q Vide Campanell. Triumph. Atheifm. c. 11.

(D) Some Roman Catholic Writers, and among the rest *Campanella*, have undertaken to prove, that the Heathens, under the Names of their feveral Deities, worshiped *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and the other Patriarchs, who were as great Saints, says *Campanella*, and as worthy of Worship, as any of the Apostles, even as St. *Peter* himself (1). However, what *Bellarmino* says here, may perhaps be true; viz. that among those, whom the Heathens worshiped, were some, who had been wicked Men; nay, and some, who never existed: But how many has the Church of *Rome* long worshiped as Saints, who were afterwards found unworthy of the Worship, that was given them, and struck out of the Calendar? How many have still a Place in the Calendar, who never existed? Whom did the Heathens ever worship, whose Existence may be more justly questioned, than that of St. *Almachius*, or St. *Almanac*, St. *Curandarum Viarum*, St. *George*, St. *Christopher*, of the *Seven Sleepers*, of the 10,000 Virgins of *Cornwall*, or of the holy Virgins St. *Faith*, St. *Hope*, and St. *Charity*, the three Daughters of a venerable Matron named St. *Wisdom*? What the Popish Divines allege in such Cases to justify their Worship, and render it lawful; viz. the general Intention of worshipping those only, who deserve to be worshiped; will, in the like Cases, equally justify the Worship of the Heathens, who intended, as we may well suppose, to wor-

ship such only as deserved to be worshiped.

But all the Gods of the Heathens, adds *Bellarmino*, are in Scripture called Devils (2); ergo, the Heathens neither worshiped the true God in their Images, nor good Men, or good Angels, but the infernal Spirits, or Devils. Had *Bellarmino* perused, with the least Degree of Attention, the Works of the famous *Aquinas*; which are said by Pope *Pius V.* to have been approved by Christ himself, he would have found this very Objection answered by him. For that great Divine, after shewing that the Heathens, though they worshiped the true God, were nevertheless, by the Fathers, justly charged with Idolatry, because they worshiped other Gods besides him, puts this Question, How all the other Gods, whom they worshiped, could be called Devils, since they worshiped among the rest the Heavenly Intelligences, who were not Devils, but good Angels? And to that he answers, *That, though the Heavenly Intelligences were not Devils in themselves, they were so nevertheless, as they were the Gods of the Heathens, that is, as they had Divine Worship given them* (3). And, in that Sense, all the Popish Saints may be said to be Devils, St. *Peter* himself not excepted, since they too have Divine Worship given them, the very same Worship, that was given by the Heathens to the Heavenly Intelligences.

(1) Campan. Triumph. Atheifm. c. 11. (2) Pfal. xcvi. ver. 5. (3) Thom. Aquin. contr. Gent. l. 1. c. 42. et Caietan. in Aquin. 22. Quæst. 94. Art. 4.

the true God alone under different Representations and Images, or together with him, but in an inferior Degree, the heavenly Spirits, and the Servants of the great God, that is, in the Language of the Church of *Rome*, Angels and Saints, it must be Idolatry, according to their Doctrine, to worship the true God by Images, or to worship, even with an inferior Worship, any Creature, how perfect soever, and excellent, and much more the meanest of all Creatures, the Work of Mens Hands. And, if that be Idolatry, I leave *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* to shew, that the Heathens were, and they are not, according to the Doctrine of the Fathers, guilty of Idolatry.

Year of  
Christ 726.

Several *Roman* Catholic Writers, and among the rest Cardinal *Du Perron*, and *Natalis Alexander*, a most zealous Advocate for the Worship of Images, well aware that they cannot excuse from Idolatry the Worship, which they give to Images, if they allow the Heathens, whom the Fathers charged with Idolatry, to have neither worshiped the Images themselves as Gods, nor to have worshiped false Gods by them, have endeavoured to prove, that the Heathens looked on their Images as Gods, and worshiped them as such with the highest Worship; and reason thus; Should we allow the Worshipping of God by Images to have been forbidden by the second Commandment, as is pretended, it would indeed follow from thence, that those, who thus worshiped God, would worship him in an unlawful Manner; but so long as they worshiped the true God, and worshiped no other God besides him, they could not be justly charged with Idolatry, which consists in worshipping something as God, that is not God, or in worshipping, and with the same Kind of Worship, more Gods than one: Hence they conclude, that, since the Fathers charged the Heathens with Idolatry, they must either have worshiped the Images themselves as Gods, or false Gods by them, and with the same Worship, which they gave to the supreme God: But, I. The Heathens themselves declared, over and over again, in their Disputes with the Fathers, that they did not look on their Images as Gods, but only as Representations of the Gods; that in them they worshiped those, to whom they were consecrated; that the Honours, Gifts, and Sacrifices offered to the Images, did not belong to them, but to the Gods, whom they represented, &c. and surely they knew better what they worshiped than *Natalis Alexander*, or the Cardinal himself.

Idolatry to  
worship the  
true God in  
an Image.

\* See above, Note B.

Year of  
Christ 726.

The Jews  
worshiped the  
true God in  
the golden  
Calf, and yet  
guilty of Idolatry.

Idolatry to  
give any religious  
Worship  
whatever to a  
Creature.

II. To worship God in a prohibited and unlawful Manner is Idolatry, according to the Scripture Notion of Idolatry. Thus the *Israelites*, worshiping the golden Calf contrary to the express Command of God, saying, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image, &c. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them*, are charged in Scripture with Idolatry, though they neither believed that Image to be the true God, *the God that brought them out of the Land of Egypt*, nor worshiped it as such, but intended to worship the true God in it, as has been unanswerably proved by the learned Bishop of *Worcester* <sup>s</sup>; and is owned by *Ferus* <sup>t</sup>, *Abulensis*, *Caietan* <sup>u</sup>, and several other Roman Catholic Writers (G). Nay, *Bellarmino* himself thinks, that the *Jews* may be said, *and not improbably, to have worshiped the true God in the molten Image* <sup>w</sup>: If so, in what could their Idolatry consist, but in worshiping an Image, though in the Image they intended to worship the true God? III. God, by commanding us to worship him, and to worship him alone, has appropriated all religious Worship to himself; and therefore to give any religious Worship to an Image, or any other Creature, is giving to a Creature the Worship, that is due to God alone, which none will pretend to excuse from Idolatry.

I know that the Popish Writers, to clear their Church from that Imputation, distinguish here between *supreme* and *inferior* Worship, *absolute* and *relative*, *direct* and *reductive*; *Worship by itself*, and *Worship by Accident*; *Worship of Latria*, and *Worship of Dulia*, *Hyperdulia*, &c. *The Heretics*, says *Arriaga*, *allege many Passages from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Councils, where it is said, that God only is to be worshiped. But to all the Passages that have been, or can be alleged, we answer in one Word, that they are to be understood of the Worship of Latria, or supreme Worship, which must be given to God alone; and would become idolatrous, if given*

<sup>s</sup> Stillingsfleet ubi supra, p. 748. et seq.   
 <sup>t</sup> Bellar. de Im. g. l. 2. c. 13.

<sup>u</sup> Joh. Ferus in Act. vii.

<sup>w</sup> Apud

<sup>x</sup> Idem ibid.

(G) *The Israelites were not so stupid, says Ferus, to believe that Aaron could make a God; non tam stupidi erant, quod crederent Aaron posse facere Deum; or that the Image, which he made, had brought them out of the Land of Egypt before it was*

*made. They meant no more therefore, than that Aaron should make them an Image of the God, who brought them out of Egypt; and in that Image they worshiped him (1).*

(1) Ferus ubi supra.

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

to any but to God. But God commands us to worship him, and serve him *only*, without any Distinction of the Nature, Kind, or Degrees of Worship; the *Jews*, to whom the Law was first given, knew of no such Distinctions, but thought it Idolatry to give any Kind of Worship whatever to a Creature; and so did the Fathers in the fourth and fifth Centuries, charging the *Arians* with Idolatry, for worshipping Christ, while they believed him to be but a Creature, though they could not, in that Supposition, worship him with the Worship of *Latria*, but only with an *inferior, subordinate, and relative* Worship, with the Worship of *Dulia*, or rather with that of *Hyperdulia*, which, in the present System of the Popish Worship, is due to the Virgin *Mary* alone, and was, in the *Arian* System, due only to Christ as the first of all Creatures. Had the Fathers thought it lawful to give any Kind of Worship whatever to a Creature, they would not have charged the *Arians* with Idolatry for worshipping, even with an inferior Worship, one, who, in their Opinion, was the most perfect of all Creatures: The only Answer they give here to clear themselves, in the Worship of Saints and Images, from the Idolatry, which the *Arians* were charged with, in the Worship of Christ, by the Fathers, is, that the *Arians* worshiped Christ as God, though they believed him to be but a Creature; which is supposing them to have been all mere Idiots, that they may not themselves be thought Idolaters.

As for the Reasons alleged above, by *Petavius* and others, why the primitive Christians abstained from the Use, and the Worship of Images; *viz.* lest they should thereby give Offence to the Pagans, or expose such of them as embraced the Christian Religion to the Danger of Idolatry, or of giving the same Worship to Images after their Conversion, which they had been accustomed to give to them before their Conversion; I have shewn already, that it was not out of any temporary Motive that the primitive Christians forbore to worship Images, or to use them in their Worship, but for Reasons, that must render the one and the other ever unlawful. I shall add here, that the Aversion, which the primitive Christians shewed to all Images, and all Worship of Images, was one of the chief Exceptions of the Pagans against the Christian Religion<sup>b</sup>; and that the Fathers ought

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<sup>b</sup> Orig. in Cels. l. 8. p. 389. 404. et l. 6. p. 189.

therefore

Year of  
Christ 726.

therefore to have rather recommended and countenanced that kind of Worship, than abstained from it, for fear of giving Offence to the Pagans: They would thereby not only have removed that Exception; but, as the Pagans were all accustomed to the Worship of Images, and it is far more easy to bring Men from worshipping some Images to worship others, than to bring them from worshipping Images to worship none, they would have greatly facilitated, instead of obstructing their Conversion.

*Nor lest they should expose their Profelytes to the Danger of Idolatry.*

As to the Danger of Idolatry in the Profelytes from Paganism, I should be glad to know what Worship a Pagan gave to the Image of *Jupiter*, for Instance, before his Conversion, which, according to the *Romish* Principles of Worship, would have become idolatrous, if given to the Image of God or of Christ after his Conversion; or what Worship he gave to the Images of the inferior Gods, while yet a Pagan, which it would in him have been Idolatry to give, when a Christian, to the Images of the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints? As the Pagans neither worshiped their Images as Gods, nor false Gods through them, but either the true God, and the Heavenly Intelligences, or the Souls of good Men; nay, and worshiped the true God with the highest Adoration and Worship; and the inferior Gods, as they called them, with an inferior, relative, and subordinate Worship; in the Popish System of Worship they needed only, upon their Conversion, to have changed the Names; and by that Change alone, without the least Alteration either in their Worship, or in most of the Objects of their Worship, they would have become good Christians, as well as good Catholics.

*The Worship of Images gives now as great Offence to many Christians, as it formerly gave to the Pagans.*

To what has been said in Answer to the Reasons alleged by *Peta-vius* and *Pagi*, why the primitive Christians abstained from all Worship of Images, might be farther added, that, if the primitive Christians thought it adviseable to abstain from that Worship, though not unlawful in itself, for Fear of giving Offence to the Pagans; the present Church of *Rome* ought, in like manner, to abstain from the same Worship, knowing that it has given, and that it still continues to give, great Offence, not only to the Enemies of the Christian Religion, but to Millions of Christians, who think that the Worship, which she requires to be given to Images, cannot be excused from Idolatry. They do not even pretend the Worship of Images to be either commanded in Scripture, or necessary to Salvation; and to keep up, to the

the great Scandal of the Christian Name, a Division among Christians for what is neither commanded in Scripture, nor necessary to Salvation, is wicked, and quite inexcusable. Year of Christ 726.

If the primitive Church thought it adviseable to forbear the Use and Worship of Images so long as Idolatry prevailed over the Christian Religion, that is, for the Space of near 400 Years, lest the Pagans, accustomed to worship Images, should give them the same Worship after their Conversion, which they had given them before it; the Church of *Rome* ought, for the very same Reason, not to have allowed her Missionaries to carry any Images with them into the *East* and *West Indies*, upon the Discovery of those Countries, nor suffered Images to be worshiped or to be used there, till the Pagan Superstition was quite rooted out, and the Christian Religion established in its room. If the primitive Church acted very wisely, as *Petavius* and *Pagi* tell us she did, in not permitting Images to be used, or to be worshiped till the Christian Religion had prevailed over Idolatry; the Church of *Rome* must be said to have acted very much otherwise, in permitting Images to be used and to be worshiped where Idolatry still prevailed over the Christian Religion, and consequently where the Converts were exposed to the Danger, to avoid which the Church had, in the primitive Times, thought it adviseable to abstain from the Use of Images as well as the Worship. And exposes the Profelytes from Paganism to the same Danger.

As the Dispute about the Worship of Images divided the whole Church, as soon as it was moved, and keeps it to this Day divided into two opposite and irreconcilable Parties; before I proceed to the dreadful Disturbances, which it occasioned in the State, as well as the Church, I must beg Leave to inform the Reader, and hope it will not be thought foreign to the Subject, by what Steps that execrable Superstition, tho' condemned in the strongest Terms, as well as the plainest, by all the primitive Fathers, crept nevertheless into the Church; when, and under what Colour or Pretence, Images were first admitted into the Places of Christian Worship; when they first began to be worshiped; by whom the Use as well as the Worship of Images was first introduced among Christians; and by whom approved and countenanced. It will from thence still further appear, that to forbid Images to be worshiped was no Innovation in *Leo*, no Heresy, no Apostasy from the Faith; but, on the contrary, that it was an Innovation, that it was Heresy, and Apostasy from the Faith of all the preceding Ages, to worship them. The Use and Worship of Images first introduced by Heretics.

And

Year of  
Christ 726.  
By Simon the  
Sorcerer, in  
the first Cen-  
tury.

And here we must allow the Use and Worship of Images among Christians, or those who pretended to be Christians, to be as ancient as the Christian Religion itself. For they were first used and worshiped, if St. *Austin* is to be credited, by *Simon*, the famous Sorcerer, who was contemporary with the Apostles, and gave his own Image, as that Father informs us<sup>a</sup>, and the Image of his Harlot, to be worshiped by his Followers. As he was therefore the first, who recommended the Use and Worship of Images, he may be justly stiled the Author and Father of that Superstition: And probably some, whose Images have been, and are still worshiped in the Church of *Rome*, no more deserve that Honour, nor perhaps fare better in the other World, than he and his Harlot.

And in the  
succeeding  
Century by  
the Gnostics,  
and the Car-  
pocratians.

In the following Century the *Gnostic* and *Carpocratian* Heretics, pretending they had Images of Christ made by *Pontius Pilate*, crowned, censured, and worshiped them after the Manner of the Heathens, as we read in *Irenæus*<sup>b</sup>, *Epiphanius*<sup>c</sup>, and *Austin*<sup>d</sup>. But the Worship which they gave to those Images, tho' no less authentic than any supposed to have been made by *Nicodemus*, or St. *Luke*, nay, than the *Veronica* itself, was accounted by the Catholic Church among the Abominations of those heretical Sects; and they were, on that Score, by all the Fathers, arraigned of Idolatry<sup>e</sup>. They are said, it is true, to have worshiped, with the Images of Christ, the Images of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and *Aristotle*. But the Fathers condemned them for *worshiping the Images of Christ, and the Images of the Philosophers of this World*; that is, for the Worship which they gave to the Images of Christ, as well as for the Worship which they gave to the Images of the Philosophers. For had the Fathers thought it no Crime to worship the Images of Christ, but only a Crime to worship the Images of the Philosophers, they would have found Fault with those Heretics for joining, in their Worship, the Images of the Philosophers with the Images of Christ, and not for worshiping, without any Distinction, the Images of Christ, and those of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and *Aristotle* (A).

Thus

<sup>a</sup> Aug. ad Quodv. c. 1.    <sup>b</sup> Iren. l. 1. c. 24.    <sup>c</sup> Epiph. hæref. 27.    <sup>d</sup> Aug. de hæref. c. 7.    <sup>e</sup> Iren. Epiph. Aug. ibid.

(A) The *Gnostics*, say some here, worshiped the Images of Christ with sovereign Worship, or the Worship of *Latria*; and were, on that Account, justly charged by the Fathers with Idolatry. But if the *Gnostics* were, on that Account, justly charged

Thus was the Use and Worship of Images introduced, indeed in the earliest Times among Christians, but introduced by the worst of Heretics; and by them alone they continued to be used till the Beginning of the fourth Century, when some Christians in Spain, thinking they might lawfully use Pictures at least as Ornaments, began to adorn with them the Walls of their Churches. But the *Spanish* Bishops, looking upon that Practice as a dangerous Innovation, and plainly repugnant to the Practice and Doctrine of the three preceeding Ages, condemned it in a Council held at *Eliberis* in 305. issuing, with one Consent, the following Decree; *It pleases us, or we decree, that Pictures ought not to be in Churches* : Year of Christ 726. The Use of Images in Churches, even as Ornaments, condemned by a Council of Spanish Bishops, in the Beginning of the fourth Century.

And they give the Reason why Pictures ought not to be in Churches, *Left that, which is worshiped or adored, be painted upon Walls*; the very Reason, that was alleged by the primitive Fathers against all Pictures and Images, such Representations serving only to debase the Objects of our Worship, and beget wrong Apprehensions of the Deity in those who behold them, especially in the ignorant Multitude &c. And it is to be observed, that the present Canon extends to the Pictures of Christ, as well as to those of God the Father; for Christ is a true Object of Adoration and Worship, and nothing, that is worshiped or adored, ought, according to the Council, to be painted upon Walls (B). This Decree was inviolably observed for

<sup>f</sup> Concil. Elib. can. 36.

<sup>g</sup> See above, p. 210.

charged with Idolatry, how will the Church of *Rome* clear herself from Idolatry, in giving, as she does, sovereign Worship to the Cross, to the Nails, to the Spear, to all the Instruments of the Passion, nay, and to every thing that has touched the Body of Christ, the Skin of the Ass not excepted, on which our Saviour rode into *Jerusalem*? The Image of Christ represents Christ; and why should Contact entitle a Piece of Wood, or of Iron, to sovereign Worship, and Representation not entitle an Image? Nay, Representation is, according to the Practice and Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, as good a Title to sovereign Worship as Contact, if the Object represented be worthy of that Worship. Thus sovereign Worship, or the Worship of *Latria*, is not only given in that Church to the Cross, on which Christ suffered, but to all other Crosses, as Representations of

VOL. III.

that Cross; and it is a current Doctrine among the Popish Divines, that Images are to be worshiped with the same Worship, which is given to the Prototypes, or Objects, which they represent; because the Worship, say they, passes from them to their Objects. Now it can be no more Idolatry, according to that Doctrine, to worship the Images of Christ, than to worship Christ himself, with sovereign Worship, or Worship of *Latria*. And if that be no Idolatry, I should be glad to know in what the Idolatry consisted, which the *Gnostic* Heretics were charged with by the Fathers, or what Worship they gave to their Images, which the Church of *Rome* does not approve of, or does not allow to be given to hers.

(B) This Decree has afforded good Employment to the *Roman* Catholic Divines; and they have left nothing unattempted to

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Year of  
Christ 726.

for several Ages by the Churches of Spain, as will be shewn in the Sequel of this History.

That

elude it. Some of them have pretended the Council of *Eliberis*, or at least the Decree against Pictures, to be a mere Forgery; which was cutting the Knot they could not untie (1). But that Opinion is now universally exploded, as rash and groundless (2). And indeed an *Arian*, or a *Nestorian*, might as well pretend the Councils of *Nice*, and of *Ephesus*, or the Decrees of those Councils condemning their Doctrines, to be mere Forgeries, and the Inventions of Heretics. Others therefore will have the Fathers of *Eliberis* to have only forbidden Pictures upon Walls, and to have been induced by the Regard and Veneration, which they had for Pictures, to issue that Prohibition, the good Bishops apprehending, that the Saltpetre, or Moistness of the Walls, might spoil and disfigure them; or that the Christians not being able to remove them in time of Persecution, and carry them with them, as *Rahab* carried her Teraphim, they would be thereby exposed to the Insults of the Pagans. Thus they interpret in Favour of Images the very Decree, that was issued against them. But the Decree of the Council was, *That Pictures ought not to be in Churches*, without any Kind of Distinction between Pictures upon Walls, and Pictures upon Canvas, upon Boards, or upon Veils; between Pictures that could, and Pictures that could not be removed; so that all Pictures were banished by that Decree from the Churches, or Places of Christian Worship. On the other hand, the Reason which the Council alleged why Images ought not to be in Churches; viz. *Lest that, which is worshiped, be painted*; plainly shews, that their Intention was to forbid, agreeably to the Doctrine of the purer Ages, the painting any-ways, or in any Place whatever, that, which was worshiped, or the Deity and Christ, the only Objects of Worship at that time among

Christians. They added *upon Walls*, to suppress the Practice that had begun to creep into the Churches of Spain, and had given Occasion to that Decree. And indeed the original Use of Pictures was, as we shall see, to embellish and adorn the Walls of the Churches; and they had been, for some Ages, on the Walls, before they were preferred to a Place on the Altars. Some, to elude this Canon, find nothing else satisfactory to recur to, but the new Notion of the *Disciplina Arcani*; and tell us, that by the Council of *Eliberis* were only forbidden the Images of the Trinity; and that they were forbidden, lest the Catechumens should be let into the Secrets of the Christian Religion, and understand the Mystery of the Trinity before their time. This pleasant Notion was invented by *Mendoza* (3); was approved by *Bona* (4); and is highly extolled by *Schellfrat* (5) and *Pagi* (6), as a full and satisfactory Answer to all the Arguments, which the Protestants can urge from the above-mentioned Decree against Images, and the Worship of Images. But, in the first Place, From the Words of the Decree it is manifest, that it was the Design of the Council to forbid all Pictures in Churches. Is not that the plain, natural, and obvious Sense of the Words, *It pleases us that Pictures ought not to be in Churches*? Thus they were understood even by *Belarmine* (7); *The Council*, says he, *speaks of Pictures in general*; and I should be glad to know what Terms, less liable to Misinterpretation, could *Mendoza* himself have suggested to forbid all Pictures in Churches? In the second Place, Who can believe the *Spanish* Bishops to have known so little themselves of God, and the Mysteries of our Religion, especially of the Trinity, as to imagine that the Catechumens could understand them, or learn anything concerning them, from Pictures or

(1) Bellar. de Imag. l. 2. c. 9. Bar. ad Ann. 392. (2) Petav. de Incarn. l. 15. c. 14. Dupin Nouv. Biblioth. tom. 2. p. 306. (3) Mendoz. Not. in Con. Elib. c. 36. Concil. t. 1. p. 1240. (4) Bon. Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 16. (5) Schellfrat. Discip. Arcan. in Arcan. c. 6. (6) Pagi Critic. Bar. ad Ann. 55. n. 6. (7) Bellar. de Imag. l. 2. c. 9.

That *Images ought not to be in Churches*, was not an Opinion peculiar, in this Age, to the Bishops of *Spain*. *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Salamis*, and Metropolitan of *Cyprus*, thought so too; and gave as signal an Instance of Zeal against all Pictures and Images, as any that occur in the whole History of the Iconoclasts. The Fact is related by himself in a Letter to *John*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*; and I shall give it in his own Words: "As I was travelling, says he, to a holy Place called *Bethel*, I passed through a Village of *Palestine*, named *Anablatha*; and observing there a burning Lamp in a House, and being told it was a Church, I went in to pray; and in entering, found a Veil hanging before the Door, on which was painted the Image of Christ, or some Saint; for I do not well remember whose Image it was. But seeing the Image of a Man hanging in the Church of Christ, *contrary to the Authority of the holy Scriptures*, I tore it, and advised the Keepers of the

Year of  
Christ 726.  
St. Epiphanius d' zealous Iconoclast in the latter End of the same Century.

Images? It was, on the contrary, because all Pictures and Images of the Deity are apt to beget wrong Notions of God in those who behold them, that such Representations were condemned, as I have shewn, and proscribed by the Fathers; and *Aubespine*, Bishop of *Orleans*, was of Opinion, that for the same Reason they were condemned and proscribed by the present Council. *All Images of God and the Trinity*, says that Prelate, *were forbidden by the Fathers of Eliberis, lest the Catechumens, and new Converts, should entertain wrong Notions, and dishonourable Thoughts of God, when they saw him, whom they had been taught to believe invisible, immaterial, and incomprehensible, circumscribed in visible Colours and Lines* (8). And truly the only Reason alleged by the Council in prohibiting such Representations was, *lest that, which was worshiped and adored, should be painted*; or, in other Words, lest an invisible, immaterial, and incomprehensible Being should be circumscribed in visible Colours and Lines. The Decree of *Eliberis*, says here *Ivo* (9), was but a temporary Decree to prevent the converted Gentiles from giving the same Worship to the Images of God, or of Christ, which they had given before their Conversion to

the Images of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, or *Apollo*. But, not to repeat here what has been said above of the Worship of the Gentiles, the Council did not forbid Images, lest that, which was painted, should be worshiped, but lest that, which was worshiped, should be painted. To conclude, no Interpretation has yet been offered to elude the Force of that Canon, which is not plainly repugnant to the natural Sense and Meaning of the Words; nay, and has not been exploded as such by some of the most eminent Writers of the Church of *Rome*, and among the rest by the learned *Petavius* and *Dupin* (10); who, ashamed of the mean Shifts and Subterfuges used on this Occasion by their Brethren, have ingenuously owned, that at the time of the Council of *Eliberis*, that is, in the Beginning of the fourth Century, no Images were yet allowed in the Churches of *Spain*; and that the *Spanish* Bishops, not yet apprised of the great Advantages attending the Use of Images, did not think it lawful for the Christians to use them. The same thing is owned by *Melchior Canus*; but he charges the *Spanish* Bishops not only with Imprudence, but Impiety, in issuing such a Decree (11).

(8) Aubespine. Not. in Can. 36. Con. Elib. (9) Ivo Part. 3. c. 40. (10) Petavi. et Dupin ubi supra.

(11) Can. Loc. Theol. l. 5. c. 4.

Year of  
Christ 726.

“ Church to use it as a Winding-sheet for some of their Poor. They  
“ complained, and required me to give them another Veil in the  
“ room of that which I tore. Their Demand was just, and in Com-  
“ pliance with it I send them one by the Bearer, which I beg you  
“ will order the Presbyters of the Place to receive as sent by me;  
“ and at the same time to command them to take care, that no  
“ such Veils, *as they are inconsistent with our Religion*, be for the  
“ future hung up in the Church of Christ. For it is incumbent  
“ upon you to *redress such Abuses, unworthy of the Church of*  
“ *Christ, and the People committed to your Care* <sup>h</sup>.”

The Use of  
Images in his  
Opinion con-  
trary to  
Scripture.

Here we have the Use of Pictures or Images in Churches con-  
demned *as contrary to the Authority of the holy Scriptures, as in-*  
*consistent with the Christian Religion, as unworthy of the Church*  
*of Christ, and the Christian People*; and thus condemned by one,  
whom all allow to have been a Man of as much Learning as any  
of his time, nay, and whom the Church of *Rome*, tho’ she now  
condemns his Doctrine, still honours as a Saint (C). As St. *Jerom*  
translated that Letter into *Latin*; and in translating it, found no  
Fault either with the Sentiments or the Behaviour of the Metropo-  
litan of *Cyprus* on that remarkable Occasion; we may well conclude  
that Father to have approved of both, the rather as he elsewhere  
bestows on *Epiphanius* the highest Commendations, styling him *the*

<sup>h</sup> Epiph. apud Hieron. tom. 2. ep. 6.

(C) No room is left here for the Shifts and Subterfuges, that have been used by the Advocates for Images to elude the Decree of *Eliberis*. For the Picture, at the Sight of which *Epiphanius* expressed such Indignation, was the Picture of Christ, or some Saint, and not of the Deity, or the Trinity; was on a Veil, and not on the Wall of the Church; and consequently capable of being removed, and in no Danger of being disfigured by the Moisture or Saltpetre of the Walls, or being insulted and abused by the Pagans. And it is to be observed, that this happened in the latter End of the fourth Century, when the Christian Religion prevailing

over Idolatry, the Use of Images could not give that Offence to the Gentiles, which it would have given, as is supposed, when Idolatry prevailed over the Christian Religion. Some here have recourse to the common Evasion, and pretend either the whole Letter to be supposititious, or that Part of it, at least, which makes against Images (1). But that the Letter is genuine, that *Epiphanius* believed the Use of Images in Churches to be against the holy Scriptures, and that in his Time none were suffered in the *Cyprian Churches*, is now allowed by all but *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*.

(1) Bar. ad Ann. 392. Bellar. de Imag. l. 2. c. 9.

Father

*Father of all Bishops, a true Pattern of the primitive Sanctity, a holy Pope, &c* <sup>i.</sup> Year of Christ 726.

However, the Use of Pictures in Churches did not at this time meet every-where with the same Opposition, which it met with in *Spain*, and in *Palestine*. Some of the more Eastern Bishops, looking upon Pictures as proper Ornaments for Churches, and reconciled to them in that Light, began, in the latter End of this Century, to admit them into their Places of Worship, as appears from the Testimonies of *Gregory of Nyssa* and *Asterius*, quoted by *Petavius* <sup>k.</sup> About the same time they were introduced in the West by *Paulinus*, Bishop of *Nola* in *Italy*; who, having built in that City a magnificent Church in Honour of *St. Felix*, embellished it with the Pictures of Martyrs, and the Histories of *Esther*, of *Job*, of *Tobit*, of *Judith*, and other Scripture Histories, painted on the Walls, as he himself informs us <sup>l.</sup> However, he owned it was a rare Custom in his time, that is, in other Words, an Innovation, to paint Churches, or to have Pictures in Churches, *pingere sanctas raro more domos*, and thought it necessary to apologize for it; saying, that he did it to entertain the Populace, and divert the Multitude from the Excesses and Riots, which they were apt to run into, when they met to celebrate the Anniversary Festival of the Dedication of the Church <sup>m.</sup> The Example of *Paulinus* was followed by *Severus*, Bishop of *Bourges*, and his intimate Friend, who, having built a Baptistry in that City, caused the Picture of *Martin*, formerly Bishop of *Tours*, and that of *Paulinus*, then living, to be painted on the Walls (D); and *Paulinus*, who was a Poet, and in that Age not a bad one, sent him an Epigram to be placed under the two Pictures, exhorting Men to imitate the one as a Saint, and the other as a penitent Sinner (E).

*Pictures introduced in some Places as Ornaments about the latter End of the fourth Century.*

*In Italy by Paulinus of Nola; and in France by Severus of Bourges.*

<sup>i</sup> Hier. ad Pammach. <sup>k</sup> Petav. de Incar. l. 15. c. 13. Paulin. Natal. 9.  
Felic. p. 615. <sup>m</sup> Idem Natal. 20. p. 617.

(D) The Pictures of the Living were at first intermixed, as appears from this Instance, with those of the Dead; and we read of the Pictures of *Macedonius*, of *Acacius*, of *Gennadius*, Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, set up, while they were still living, in the Churches of that City (1). Of *Timotheus*, the Successor of *Macedonius*, it is recorded, that whatever Church he went into, he would never begin Divine Service, till the Picture of *Macedonius* was taken down and removed (2).  
(E) *Adstat perfectæ Martinus regula vitæ; Paulinus veniam quo mereare docet. Hunc, Peccatores, illum spectate, Beati: Exemplum Sanctis ille sit, iste reis* (3).

(1) Bar. ad Ann. 488. Valef. Not. in Theodor. Lect. l. 2. p. 167. (2) Theodor. Lect. l. 2. p. 563. (3) Paulin. Epig. 12. ad Sever.

Year of  
Christ 726.

*The Use of  
Images op-  
posed by some,  
even in the  
fifth Century.*

But the Custom that was *rare* in the latter End of the fourth Century, became common in the fifth; and Pictures of Saints and of Martyrs were admitted into most Churches, but still admitted only as Ornaments; and they met, even as such, with some Opposition both in the East and West. In the East *Theodotus* of *An-cyra*, and *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, would not suffer Images or Pictures in the Churches of their respective Dioceses, under any Pretence or Colour whatever, alleging, that *the Christians had no Tradition to represent the Saints in material Colours*; and that *they strove to imitate their Virtues, but cared not to have their Persons and Bodies represented to them in Pictures or Images*<sup>n</sup>. And it is to be observed, that *Amphilochius*, who cared not to have the Images of the Saints, was one of the most learned Men of the Age he lived in; and is highly commended by St. *Jerom*, and likewise by the famous St. *Basil*, who addressed to him his Book on the Holy Ghost. In the West St. *Austin*, speaking of some Gentiles, who blasphemously gave out, that the Author of the Christian Religion had written Books of Magic, and left them with his two Followers *Peter* and *Paul*, conjectures those two Apostles to have been named because they were seen in some Places painted with Christ; and adds, *Thus they deserve to err, who seek Christ and his Apostles not in the holy Scriptures, but on painted Walls*<sup>o</sup>. Indeed the Worship of Images, the grossest of all Errors, never had obtained, had Men sought Christ only in the Scriptures; nor could it long obtain, were not the Books taken from the People, in which alone St. *Austin* thought they should seek Christ, and painted Walls substituted in their room. The same Father elsewhere finds Fault with the *Manichees*, on account of their Fondness for Images; and ascribes it to a wicked Design in them, of reconciling the Heathens to their mad and despicable Sect p.

*The Use of  
Images ob-  
tains univer-  
sally in the  
sixth Centu-  
ry.*

But tho' in the fifth Century the Use of Images was still opposed, or at least not approved, by some of the most eminent Men for Learning and Sanctity who lived in that Age; in the following Century it became universal, and the Churches were every-where filled, both in the East and the West, not only with the Histories of the Old and New Testament, painted on the Walls and the Windows, but

\* Apud Concil. Nic. 2. Act. 6.  
cont. Adamant. c. 13.

o Aug. de Conf. Evang. l. 1. c. 20.

p Idem

with

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

231

with Pictures of Christ, under the Type of a Lamb (F), of the Virgin *Mary*, of the Apostles, and other Saints, especially of the Martyrs, and their Passions or Sufferings. However, no Statues, but only Paintings or Pictures, were yet suffered in the Churches, as has been observed by *Petavius*<sup>r</sup>; all massy Images, whether of Wood, Stone, or Metal, being thought to bear too near a Resemblance to the Idols of the Gentiles. And thus was the Use of Images, which the primitive Christians had so much abhorred in their Worship, and Places of Worship, brought, by Degrees, and, we may say, by Stealth, into the Church: For tho' it was now become general, it had not yet been authorized by any General Council; nay, Images had not been yet so much as once mentioned in any Council whatever, except that of *Eliberis*, which expressly forbade them.

Year of  
Christ 726.

<sup>r</sup> Petav. de Incar. l. 15. c. 14.

(F) No Images of Christ, in the Figure of a Man, were allowed in the Church, till the latter End of the seventh Century, as has been observed, and fully proved by *Cassander* (1). Till that Time he was only represented under the Type or Figure of a Lamb; all Images representing him in human Shape being thought not only imperfect, but false, and unworthy of him, since they could only represent him as a Man, whereas he was both God and Man. Thus when *Constantia*, Sister of *Constantine*, and Wife of *Lucinius*, wrote to *Eusebius*, at that Time Bishop of *Cæsarea*, desiring him to send her a Picture of Christ; the Bishop sent her the following Answer: "That he could not send her, nor could he suppose that she had desired him to send her, a Picture of the Divinity or Godhead of Christ, since no Man knew the Father but the Son, and none knew the Son but the Father; that as to his human Nature, it was tempered with the Glory of the Divinity, and therefore could not be expressed in dead and lifeless Colours, nor with the Shadows of a Pencil (2)." When that Letter was read in the second Council of *Nice*, the Fathers of that very learned Assembly could find nothing to object against it, but

that *Eusebius* was a Heretic, and an *Arian*, tho' in that very Letter he acknowledged, in the plainest Terms, the Divinity of Christ, and the *Arians* were as orthodox, with respect to Images, as the Catholics themselves: We know at least of no Disagreement, in that Particular, between them and the Catholics; and therefore the Authority of an *Arian* ought to have been of as much Weight with the Fathers of the Council, in what concerned Images, as the Authority of a Catholic. But *Asterius*, Bishop of *Amasea*, was a good Catholic; and yet exhorted the Christians of his time to bear Christ in their Souls, to carry the incorporeal Word in their Minds, but not to humble him anew by painting him in the servile Form, which for our sake he took upon him (3). And in that servile Form he was not painted, at least in Churches, or Places of Worship, but only represented under the Type of a Lamb, till the time of the *Quinisext* Council, that is, till the Year 691. when the Worship of Images beginning to obtain, the Fathers of that Assembly, thinking it indecent to worship the Image of a Lamb, decreed that Christ should be thenceforth painted in the Form of a Man (4).

(1) Cassand. Consult. de Imagin. 165. (2) Euseb. apud Concil. Nic. 2. Act. 6.  
(3) Aster. Homil. de Divit. et Lazar. p. 565. (4) Concil. Quinisext. Can. 83.

As

Year of  
Christ 726.

*Images wor-  
shipped by some  
as soon as ad-  
mitted into  
the Places of  
Worship.*

*That Worship  
condemned by  
St. Austin,  
and in his  
time by the  
Church.*

As to the Worship of Images, they were no sooner admitted into the Churches, and Places of Worship, than they began by some to be worshiped; it being natural, as was observed by St. *Austin*, for those, who pray looking on an Image, to be so affected as to believe that the Image hears them, and can grant them what they ask. And here we may observe by the way, that St. *Austin* did not at all approve of the Practice of praying before an Image, but looked upon it as capable of seducing those, who thus prayed, to address their Prayers to the Image itself. As in his time, that is, in the latter End of the fourth, or the Beginning of the fifth Century, Images first found Admittance into the Christian Churches and Oratories; so in his time they first began to be worshiped. And what was his Opinion concerning the Worship that was given them, nay, and the Opinion of the Church in his time, we may gather from his Treatise *on the Manners of the Catholic Church*. For the *Manichees*, taking Occasion, from the Practice of a few, to reproach the whole Church with the Worship of Images, St. *Austin* answered thus, in the Treatise I have mentioned: "Name not such Professors of Christianity as know not, or observe not the Laws of  
" the Religion which they profess, nor the ignorant Multitude, who,  
" in the true Religion itself, are either superstitious, or so given up  
" to their Lusts, as to forget what they once promised to God. I  
" myself have known some, who were Worshipers of Tombs and  
" Pictures. But how foolish such Men are, how hurtful, how sacrilegious, I propose to shew in another Treatise. In the mean  
" time I would not have you thus to slander the Catholic Church,  
" upbraiding her with the Manners of those, whom she herself  
" condemns, and endeavours daily to correct as untoward Children." Thus St. *Austin*: And from his Words it is manifest, that to worship Images was thought by him, and by the Catholic Church in his time, a superstitious Practice repugnant to the Principles of the Christian Religion; and that it was condemned as such, both by him and the Church. And it is to be observed, that those, of whom St. *Austin* speaks, were Sons of the Church; and therefore cannot be supposed to have worshiped these Images as Gods, or to have worshiped false Gods by them.

† Aug. in Psal. cxiii.

† Idem de Morib. Eccles. Cath. c. 34.

The Fathers of the two succeeding Centuries were of the same Mind with St. *Austin* concerning the Worship, tho' they countenanced the Use of Images. For in the sixth, when, Images being every-where admitted into the Churches, the *Jews* began to charge the Christians, on that Account, with a Breach of the second Commandment, the only Answer they returned to so heavy a Charge was, that the second Commandment did not forbid Images to be made, but to be worshiped, or to be made in order to be worshiped; that they neither bowed down to them, nor worshiped them, but used them only as Helps to Memory and Devotion, or as Books to instruct those, who could not read (G). Had they thought it consistent with the second Commandment to give any kind of Worship whatever to Images, they would have taken care to distinguish, as the Worshipers of Images do now when they answer the same Charge, between the Worship, that was not, and the Worship, that in their Opinion was consistent with that Commandment; and not declared without any Restriction, Limitation, or Distinction, that they did not worship Images; but used them only as Helps to Memory, as Books for the Ignorant.

Year of  
Christ 726.  
In the sixth  
Century  
Images still  
used only as  
Helps to De-  
votion, as  
Books for the  
Ignorant, &c.

That they were to be used *only* as such, and *by no means* to be worshiped, was still the Doctrine of the Church in the Beginning of the seventh Century, if the Doctrine of Pope Gregory the Great may be called the Doctrine of the Church: For when *Serenus*, Bishop of *Marseilles*, caused the Images throughout his Diocese to be cast out of the Churches, and destroyed, because they began to be worshiped by the People, as has been related elsewhere <sup>u</sup>, Gregory found

And likewise  
in the Begin-  
ning of the  
seventh.

<sup>u</sup> See Vol. II. p. 524, 525.

(G) These Pleas and Pretences for the Use of Images were all borrowed of the Heathens. Images, say they in *Maximus Tyrius*, serve the Ignorant instead of Books; put us, when we look on them, in mind of the Objects, which they represent; are a kind of Manuduction to the Gods; and raise our Minds from what is material and visible, to what is immaterial and invisible (1). But these Pretences did not satisfy the primitive Fathers; and they urged the Prohibition of the Divine Law, *Thou*

*shalt not make to thyself any graven Image,* &c. against the Use of Images in the Worship of God, under any Colour or Pretence whatever; and thus said the Fathers of *Frankford*, in Answer to that Plea, *What Madness is it to pretend, that by an Image we may be put in mind of Christ's Presence on the Earth! O unhappy Memory, which, that it may remember Christ, who should never be out of the Mind of a good Man, needs the Beholding of an Image?* (2).

(1) Max. Tyr. Dissert. 38.  
VOL. III.

(2) Lib. Carol. 4. c. 2.  
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Year of  
Christ 726.

The Worship  
of Images  
condemned by  
Gregory the  
Great, in the  
strongest  
Terms.

fault with him indeed for destroying them; but, at the same time, commended his Zeal in not suffering them to be worshiped. *We commend your Zeal, said he, in not allowing Images, or any-thing, that was made with Hands, to be worshiped: But we cannot approve of your breaking them, since Images were set up in Churches, that the Ignorant may see on the Walls what they are not capable of reading in Books: You should therefore have preserved them for that Purpose; and been satisfied with restraining the People from worshipping them: Thus the Illiterate would by them have been instructed in History; and would not have sinned in giving them Worship.* Serenus, who knew, and knew by Experience, how difficult a Thing it was to restrain the ignorant Multitude from worshipping Images so long as they were suffered in the Places of Worship, and had, in all Likelihood, ordered them to be removed out of the Churches, and broken, because he could by no other means prevent their being worshiped, was so surpris'd at his being found fault with on that Account, that he could not believe the Letter came from the Pope; and therefore paid no kind of Regard to it: But Gregory soon wrote to him again, repeating what he had said in his former Letter; viz. That Images were set up in Churches only to instruct the Minds of the Ignorant; and exhorting him to preach that Doctrine to his Flock; and not to forbid Images to be made, but to forbid them by all means to be worshiped. *It is one Thing, says he, to adore an Image, another to learn from an Image what is to be adored: What those, who can read, learn from Books, they who cannot read, learn from Pictures: They serve the Barbarians in the room of Books, which you, who live among the Barbarians, ought to have minded, and checked your Zeal, however right, lest, by your Indiscretion, you should have scandalized them, and estranged them from you (H).*

Without any  
Distinction  
between one  
Worship, and  
another.

As Part of Serenus's Flock, provoked at his destroying their Images, had separated themselves from his Communion, the Pope exhorts

▼ Greg. l. 7. Ep. 110.

(H) *Frangi non debuit, quod non ad adorandum in ecclesiis, sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes fuit nescientium collocatum. Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minime prohibe; adorari vero imagines omnibus modis evita. Unde et præcipue*

*Gentibus pro lectione pictura est. Quod magnopere a te, qui inter gentes habitas, attendi debuerat, ne dum RECTO ZELO incaute succenderis, ferocibus animis scandalum generares; ac* Gregory's own Words.

him to bring back, by gentle Methods, those whom his Indiscretion had estranged from him. You would do well, says he, to call your People together; and, having shewn them from Scripture, that it is not lawful to worship any thing, that was made with Hands, because it is written, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, tell them, that finding they worshiped the Images, which were set up only for Instruction, your Spirit was stirred in you; and you could not help destroying them: That nevertheless you are willing to allow them the Use of Images according to the antient Institution (an Institution of about 200 Years standing), provided they used them *only for Instruction*; but that you will by no means suffer them to be worshiped<sup>\*</sup>. Thus *Gregory*; and from both Letters it is manifest, that so late as the Beginning of the seventh Century (for both were written in 601.) Images were still thought, and by the infallible Head of the Church, to have been set up for no other Purpose, but to instruct the Minds of the Ignorant; that by the infallible Head of the Church it was still deemed a Sin, and a Breach of the second Commandment, to give them any kind of Worship whatever; and that to cast them out of the Churches, and destroy them, to prevent their being worshiped, was not yet, in the Opinion of the infallible Head of the Church, either Heresy, or Apostasy from the true Faith; but only Indiscretion, or the Act of a *right*, but *indiscreet* Zeal, in one living among the Barbarians, who, having been accustomed to the Use of Images before their Conversion, ought, according to the Doctrine of *Gregory*, to have been indulged in the Use of them after it. I know, that the Popish Divines distinguish here between sovereign and subordinate Worship, absolute and relative, proper and improper, between Worship for the Sake of the Image, and Worship for the Sake of the Prototype, &c. But had *Gregory* thought it lawful to give one kind of Worship to Images, or the Work of Mens Hands, and unlawful to give another, he would, without all Doubt, have informed *Serenus* on so remarkable an Occasion, and it was his Duty as Head of the Church, what Worship he might allow his People to give to their Images, and what he might not; and not said, without distinguishing between the one and the other, that he must by no means allow Images to be worshiped, *adorari vero imagines omnibus modis devota*; or, as these Words are

<sup>\*</sup> Idem, l. 9. Ep. 9.

Year of  
Christ 726.

About the  
Middle of the  
seventh Cen-  
tury Images  
looked upon  
as something  
more than  
Helps to Me-  
mory.

translated, perhaps inadvertently, by Dupin, *That he must not allow Images to be worshiped in any manner whatever* &c.

From the Beginning of the seventh Century, when Gregory condemned the Worship of Images, as we have seen, to the Beginning of the eighth, not a single Instance occurs of any Worship given, or allowed to be given to them, by any Council or Assembly of Bishops whatever: However, as, about the middle of the seventh Century, we begin to read of wondrous Things performed by Images, of Victories obtained by their means, of Distempers cured by applying them to the Part affected, &c. we may well conclude, that, if they were not then yet commonly worshiped, they were at least commonly looked upon as something more than mere *Helps to Memory*, or *Books for the Ignorant*. Some are of Opinion, and their Opinion is not ill grounded, that it was during the famous Dispute concerning the Will and Operations of Christ, which was moved in 626, and carried on with great Warmth, till the End of that Century, that the Worship of Images began to obtain; the Bishops being too much taken up in determining so important a Point, to restrain or correct the Abuses, which, during that time, crept into their Churches.

Commonly  
worshiped in  
the Beginning  
of the eighth  
Century by  
the Monks,  
and the Po-  
pular.

However that be, certain it is, that though, in the Beginning of the seventh Century, Images were *by no means* allowed to be worshiped, as we have seen, they were nevertheless commonly and publicly worshiped in the Beginning of the eighth; nay, and that some of the chief Bishops of the Church, instead of destroying them, as *Serenus* had done, when they found they were worshiped, or teaching their People, agreeably to the Doctrine of *Gregory*, that Images were set up *only for Instruction*, began to teach the quite opposite Doctrine; and even to pretend, so utterly were they unacquainted with the Practice and Doctrine of all the preceding Ages, that the Worship of Images was enjoined by the Apostles, and had ever since the Apostolic Age been constantly practised by the Catholic Church. At the same time the Monks, finding in the Gifts and the Offerings, that were daily made to their Images, the good Effects of that new Devotion, spared no Pains to promote and establish the growing Superstition; insomuch that in the Year 726. when *Leo* published his famous Edict, it had already spread into all the Provinces subject to the Empire. But though it obtained almost universally among the

People, it was still opposed, and opposed with great Zeal, by several Bishops; nay, some of them, finding that the Use of Images had by degrees degenerated into Worship, were even for casting them everywhere out of the Churches; and that they looked upon as the only effectual Means of preventing them from being worshiped by the ignorant Multitude, and restoring the Christian Religion to its primitive Purity. But others thought, that Images ought to be retained to instruct the Ignorant, and excite the People to Devotion and Piety, the only Purposes for which they were originally introduced; but that the People should by all means be restrained from giving them any kind of Worship.

Year of  
Christ 726.

Thus was the Church, in the present Controversy, divided into three different and opposite Parties, some approving of the Use, but condemning the Worship of Images; others condemning the Use as well as the Worship; and some approving both of the Use and the Worship; nay, and pretending, that not to use Images, or to use them only for Instruction, and not to worship them, was Heresy, *Judaism*, and Apostasy from the Christian Faith: Against the Use of Images were urged by those, who thought that Images ought all to be removed out of the Places of Worship, and destroyed, the Prohibition of the divine Law, the Doctrine and Practice of the primitive Church, the Decree of the Council of *Eliberis*, the Example of *Epiphanius*, and the Difficulty of restraining the ignorant Multitude from praying to the Images themselves, and worshiping them; so long as they were allowed to pray and worship before them. On the other hand, for the Use of Images, were alleged by those, who thought, that they ought neither to be worshiped, nor destroyed, the Practice of the three last Ages, the many Advantages accruing from them, as they pretended, especially with respect to the illiterate Vulgar; the Definition of *Gregory*, that Images were neither to be destroyed, nor worshiped; and the Canon of the *Quinisext* Council, allowing Christ to be painted in the Form of a Man. As the third Opinion, that Images were not only to be used, but to be worshiped; was destitute of all Proof from, nay, and plainly repugnant to, Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity, nothing was alleged, as we shall see, to support that Opinion, by those, who maintained it, but fabulous Stories, but Visions, or Dreams of visionary Monks, and Miracles pretended to have been wrought either by the Images themselves, or by those,

Year of  
Christ 726.

The Worship  
of Images ob-  
tained yet on-  
ly in the Em-  
pire.

who worshiped them. And here it is to be observed, that though the Worship of Images obtained at this time almost universally, among the People, in the Countries subject to the Empire, being there countenanced and recommended by the Bishops of *Constantinople*, and *Rome*; *France*, *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, were yet quite free from that Superstition; nay, when the present Controversy was moved, and the second Council of *Nice* defined, to the great Surprise, I may say, of the whole Christian World, that Images were to be worshiped, they rejected, as will be shewn in the Sequel, with the utmost Indignation and Abhorrence, that Definition.

What may be  
gathered  
from what  
has been said.

And now to conclude, From what has been said it is manifest beyond Contradiction; I. That the primitive Christians neither worshiped Images, nor used any in their Worship, or Places of Worship<sup>a</sup>. II. That the Reasons, which they alleged against the Use as well as the Worship of Images, were such as must necessarily hold good in all Times; and render both the Use, and the Worship of Images ever unlawful<sup>a</sup>. III. That when they first began to be used, they were used only as Ornaments, or as Helps to Memory, and Books for the Ignorant; and that some of the most learned Men in the Church could never be reconciled to them, even in that Light<sup>b</sup>. IV. That till the latter End of the fourth Century they were used only by Heretics; and worshiped by none but by Heretics till the latter End of the seventh<sup>c</sup>. Lastly, That in the Beginning of the eighth Century, when *Leo* undertook to put a Stop to the growing Superstition, it was yet unknown to, or was zealously opposed by, the far greater Part of the Christian World; and consequently, that if it was a *damnable Heresy* in that Emperor, as was then, and is still pretended, not to worship Images, or forbid them to be worshiped, the far greater Part of the Catholic Church was at that time, and the whole Catholic Church had been for near 700 Years, guilty of a *damnable Heresy*. Having thus made it undeniably appear, for the Justification of *Leo* as well as of those, who then adhered, and still adhere to him, that his Edict was intirely agreeable to the Doctrine and Practice of the Church in all the preceding Ages, I shall now resume the Thread of the History, not doubting but the Importance of the Subject will excuse, with every Protestant Reader, the Length of the Digression.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 202.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 209.

<sup>c</sup> See p. 225.

<sup>d</sup> See p. 233.

The Imperial Ediſt, though not forbidding the Uſe, but only the Worſhip of Images, was no ſooner publiſhed, than the Monks took the Alarm, and with them the Populace, eſpecially the Women, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as we ſhall ſee, in this Diſpute; and, as it formerly happened at *Ephesus*, on the like Occaſion, the whole City was at once filled with Confuſion<sup>d</sup>; nay, and the whole Empire. For though it was, but in the Beginning of the preceding Century, a Crime to worſhip Images with any kind of Worſhip; and only Indiscretion to pull them down, to caſt them out of the Churches, and break them, leſt they ſhould be worſhipped<sup>e</sup>; it was now with the Monks, with the ſuperſtitious Multitude, and the Women, a heinous Crime not to worſhip them; and Heresy, Apoſtaſy from the Faith, *Judaism*, to forbid them to be worſhipped: And the Emperor was accordingly no longer looked upon as a Chriſtian, orthodox, and religious Prince; tho' he had been eſteemed ſuch by all, even by the Pope, till the Publication of this Ediſt; but as a declared Heretic, nay, as a Heresiarch, as an Apoſtate from the Faith; and one, who had nothing leſs in view, than utterly to aboliſh Chriſtianity, and eſtabliſh *Judaism* in its room. Theſe Notions were induſtriouſly propagated among the Populace, chiefly by the Monks, to ſtir them up againſt the Emperor, and defeat the Undertaking; inſomuch that had not *Leo*, foreſeeing the Danger, cauſed ſtrong Bodies of Troops to be poſted in the different Quarters of the City, and by that means prevented the People from aſſembling, a general Revolt would have enſued; and he, in all Likelihood, have fallen a Victim to the Rage of the incenſed Multitude.

Year of  
Chriſt 726.  
Disturbances  
in Conſtan-  
tinople, oc-  
caſioned by  
the Imperial  
Ediſt.

The Imperial Ediſt was no better received in the Provinces, than it was at *Constantinople*; but no-where was the Publication of it attended with greater Diſturbances, than in the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*: For it was no ſooner publiſhed there, than the People, thinking that the Whole of the Chriſtian Religion was at Stake, and thereupon moved, ſays *Theophanes*, with Divine Zeal, openly withdrew themſelves from all Subjection and Obedience to one, who had, by his Heresy, forfeited all Right to command them; flew to Arms; and, having declared *Leo* depoſed from the Empire as an Enemy to God and his Church, proclaimed one *Cosmas*, a leading Man among them, and a moſt zealous Advocate for Image-worſhip, Emperor in.

The Inſu-  
bitants of the  
Cyclades re-  
volt.  
Year of  
Chriſt 727.

<sup>d</sup> Acts c. xix. ver. 24. et ſeq.

<sup>e</sup> See above, p. 234.

Year of  
Christ 727.

*They are de-  
feated, and  
all taken or  
slain.*

*Leo's Gene-  
rosity to the  
Prisoners.*

*The Pa-  
triarch Ger-  
manus re-  
monstrates  
against the  
Undertaking  
of the Em-  
peror.*

his room: As they were all expert Mariners, and had, as a trading People, a good Number of Ships, they armed them all with incredible Expedition; and, in a very short time, put to Sea with a considerable Fleet under the Command of *Agallianus*, and *Stephen*, two brave and experienced Officers. They steered their Course strait to *Constantinople*, not doubting but they should surprise the Emperor; and, being joined by their Friends, who were very numerous in that City, and no less dissatisfied than they, drive him, almost without Bloodshed, from the Throne. But, instead of surprising *Leo*, they found him, to their great Surprise, ready to receive them; and the Imperial Fleet drawn up before the Harbour, and only waiting their Approach to engage them. An Engagement ensued accordingly, which was neither long nor doubtful; for, by means of the artificial Fire, with which *Leo* had some Years before destroyed the whole Naval Power of the *Saracens*, the Fleet of the Rebels was all at once seen in a Flame; and all, but such as chose to yield, and throw themselves upon the Mercy of the Conqueror, miserably perished, either consumed by the Flames, or swallowed up by the Sea. *Agallianus*, chusing rather to die, than to fall into the Hands of the Enemy, threw himself, armed as he was, into the Sea. But *Stephen*, the other Commander, and the Usurper *Cosmas*, were both taken, and, by the Emperor's Order, publicly beheaded. The other Prisoners, for not a Man escaped, were all spared; and by the cruel, inhuman, and blood-thirsty Tyrant, as *Baronius* is pleased to call *Leo*, set at Liberty, and suffered to return unmolested to their respective Homes. This Rebellion *Theophanes* calls a godly Conspiracy; and truly, to worship Images, and maintain that Worship even with Treason and Rebellion, was in his time, that is, in the Beginning of the ninth Century, the Height of all Godliness. However, the Church of *Rome* has, it seems, been ashamed to canonize *Cosmas*, *Stephen*, or *Agallianus*, though they fell, and were the first, who fell, Martyrs in that godly Cause.

In the mean time the Patriarch *Germanus*, a most zealous Patron of the new Superstition, apprehending, that the Emperor would ascribe the Success, that had attended his Arms against the Rebels, to the Justice of his Cause; and be thereby encouraged to pursue the War, which he had begun against God, and his Saints; thought it

\* Theoph. Ann. Incar. secund. Alexandr. 718.

his Duty to undeceive him; and with that View he either went in Person, or sent, as we read in the Acts of the pretended Martyr *Stephen*, one of his Ecclesiastics, a Man greatly respected for his Piety, to represent to him, that the Worship of Images, which he condemned as idolatrous, had from the earliest Times obtained in the Church; that our Saviour himself had approved of it; and, in Token of his Approbation, sent his Picture to *Abgarus*, King of *Edeffa*, to be worshiped by him, and his People<sup>f</sup>; that the Woman, whom he had miraculously cured of an Issue of Blood, having out of Gratitude erected a Statue to him in the City of *Paneas*, he had, by a standing Miracle, authorized Posterity to follow her Example<sup>g</sup>; that the Worship of Images had by the Apostles been recommended to the Faithful; that from their time to the present, no Christian, but only *Jews* and *Saracens*, had ever questioned the Lawfulness of that kind of Worship; and that the six General Councils, consisting of different Bishops, and held in different Times and Places, had all not only approved, but enjoined it (O). As these were the only Reasons alleged by the Patriarch to prove the Lawfulness of Image-worship, and divert the Emperor from the Resolution he had taken, it is not at all to be wondered, that *Leo*, instead of hearkening to him, dismissed him, as he is said to have done, without so much as deigning to return him an Answer; and thenceforth appeared more determined than ever to have his Edict put in Execution; and by all, without Exception, rigorously observed<sup>h</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 727.

The Reasons  
he alleged.

<sup>f</sup> See above, p. 203. Note A.  
Diac. in Vit. S. Steph. Junior.

<sup>g</sup> See above, p. 207.

<sup>h</sup> Stephan.

(O) *Spanhem* cannot persuade himself, that the Patriarch was capable of alleging to so wise and learned a Prince as *Leo*, the Fables, that were told of the Picture at *Edeffa*, and the Statue at *Paneas*; and much less, that he was so utterly unacquainted with the antient Practice and Doctrine of the Church, as not to know, that the primitive Christians had abhorred not the Worship only, but even the Use of Images; and that not the least mention had been made of Images in any of the six General Councils. That learned Writer therefore suspects, and not without Reason, the Speech, that is said to have been made

by the Patriarch, to have been made, not by him, but by some of the later *Greeks* for him (1). *Baronius* himself is forced to own, that nothing was determined concerning the Worship of Images, by any of the six General Councils (2); but yet thinks, that, as they did not condemn that Worship, they may be truly said to have approved it: But that is supposing the Worship of Images to have obtained at the time of those Councils; and nothing is more certain, than that Images did not begin to be worshiped, till after the last of the six General Councils.

(1) *Span. Hist. Imag. Restitut. Sect. 2.*  
Vol. III.

(2) *Bar. ad Ann. 726. n. 6.*  
However,



Year of  
Christ 727.

*The Patri-  
arch attempts  
anew to di-  
vert him  
from his Re-  
solution.*

However, the Patriarch, thinking it incumbent upon him, says *Theophanes*, to leave nothing unattempted he could think of to retrieve the Emperor from his Impiety, repaired again in a few Days to the Imperial Palacc; and being received by *Leo* with uncommon Marks of Respect and Esteem, as he did not yet despair of being able to gain him, he put him in mind of the Oath he had taken at his Coronation, not to attempt or to suffer any Change or Innovation whatever, in the Doctrine and Practice of the Church; represented to him the Danger, to which he exposed both himself and the Empire, by condemning as unlawful and wicked, what all good Christians had ever thought lawful, and highly pleasing to God; threatened him with Vengeance from Heaven, which, he said, an Undertaking so hateful to God and his Saints would not fail to bring down upon him, and all, who were concerned in it with him; and, declaring, with great Intrepidity, that, as for himself, he had rather suffer the most cruel Death, than approve, or seem to approve, so impious a Tenet, earnestly intreated him to revoke the Edict, which he had too rashly issued; and allow the Church to enjoy that Tranquillity, which his Valour and Conduct had, with the Blessing of Heaven, procured to the State. But *Leo*, continues *Theophanes*, was hardened in his Iniquity, and not to be moved; nay, though convinced by the Patriarch, that to worship Images was no Idolatry (it is a Pity he forgot to tell us with what Arguments the Patriarch convinced him), the more the holy Prelate strove to divert him from the Execution of his Edict, the more warmly he insisted on its being executed, and by all punctually complied with. However, he dismissed the Patriarch, as all agree, without offering him the least Violence; a plain Proof, that to contradict him, and not to acquiesce at once in his sovereign Will and Pleasure, was not with him, as *Maimbourg* would make us believe, Treason and Rebellion.

*The Emperor  
acquaints the  
Pope with his  
Resolution.*

*Leo* had written a long Letter to the Pope as soon as he published his Edict, to acquaint him with the Resolution he had taken of extirpating the Idolatry, that had begun to prevail in the Church, as well as the Motives, that had induced him to take it, and exhort his Holiness to concur with him in so commendable an Undertaking. That Letter the Pope immediately answered; and on this Occasion several Letters passed, as appears from the Writers of those Days, be-

\* *Theoph. ubi supra.*

tween him and the Emperor: But as none of them have reached our Year of  
 Times, all we know for certain is, that the Pope declared with great <sup>Christ 727.</sup>  
 Warmth for the Worship of Images; that he alleged all the Reasons <sup>Who warmly</sup>  
 and Arguments he could think of, to dissuade the Emperor from at- <sup>opposes it.</sup>  
 tempting any Innovation, as he called it, in the Faith or Practice of  
 the Church; that he threatened him with the Indignation of St.  
*Peter*; and openly declared, that, far from concurring with him in  
 so impious an Undertaking, he could not think of it without Hor-  
 ror; would ever oppose it to the utmost of his Power; and think  
 himself happy, should he shed the last Drop of his Blood in so godly a  
 Cause <sup>b</sup>. But nothing was capable of shaking the Constancy of *Leo*,  
 whom yet *Maimbourg* paints as a cowardly and timorous Prince: His  
 Zeal for the Purity of the Christian Worship was Proof against all  
 Opposition; and he was no less ready to hazard his Life to root so  
 detestable an Abuse out of the Church, than the Pope, or the Patriarch,  
 were ready to hazard theirs to maintain it. Having therefore this  
 Year, without any Regard to the Remonstrances of the Patriarch,  
 caused the Images to be placed higher in all the Churches of *Constan-*  
*tinople*, and removed out of the Reach, and almost out of the Sight  
 of the People, to prevent their being worshiped, pursuant to his Edict,  
 he sent a Copy of the Edict to *Scholasticus* Exarch of *Ravenna*, <sup>The Emperor</sup>  
 strictly injoining him, without any Regard to the Remonstrances of <sup>orders his</sup>  
 the Pope, to publish it, and cause it to be punctually complied with <sup>Edict to be</sup>  
 in that, and all the other Cities subject to the Empire in *Italy*. <sup>published in</sup>  
 The Exarch, in Obedience to the Order of the Emperor, published the <sup>Italy.</sup>  
 Edict, as soon as he received it, in the City of *Ravenna*: But the <sup>The People</sup>  
 Populace, rising as soon as it was published, openly declared, that <sup>rise in Ra-</sup>  
 they would rather renounce their Allegiance to the Emperor, than <sup>venna.</sup>  
 the Worship of Images, and the Catholic Faith. Hereupon great  
 Disturbances ensued; and while the Soldiery strove to appease them,  
 the superstitious Multitude grew outrageous, fell on them, and a great  
 deal of Blood was shed on either Side. Of these Disturbances *Luit-*  
*prand*, King of the *Lombards*, was no sooner informed, than think-  
 ing that a favourable Opportunity of making himself Master of the  
 Seat of the Exarch, and driving the *Greeks* out of all *Italy*, he drew  
 his Forces together, with incredible Expedition; and entering the Ter-  
 ritories of the Empire, appeared unexpectedly before *Ravenna*, and

<sup>b</sup> Anast. in Greg. II. Paul. Diacon. l. 6. c. 49. Theoph. ubi supra.

Year of  
Christ 727.

*The King of  
the Lom-  
bards reduces  
that City.*

closely besieged it. The Garison made at first a vigorous Resistance ; but the politic King having gained the Populace by pretending great Zeal for the Worship of Images, they were in a few Days obliged to surrender at Discretion. From *Ravenna* the King marched, without Loss of Time, to the other Cities of the Exarchate, where the same Disturbances reigned ; and being every-where received by the People not as an Enemy, but as one sent from Heaven to defend the Catholic Faith, and protect them, who professed it, he found himself at once, and almost without Bloodshed, Master of all the *Pentapolis*, which he reduced to a Dukedom, appointing *Hildebrand*, his Grandson, to govern it with the Title of Duke <sup>1</sup>.

*The Pope  
stirs up the  
Venetians  
against him.  
Year of  
Christ 728.*

The Popes had ever entertained great Jealousy of the Power of the *Lombards*, well apprised, that, were they Lords of *Italy*, they would keep a watchful Eye over them ; and be better able to discover and defeat their ambitious Designs, than the Emperors of the East, who were at a Distance. *Gregory* therefore, alarmed at the Rapidity of *Luitprand's* Conquests, and apprehending, that were he not diverted from pursuing them, he should himself be soon obliged to acknowledge him for his Lord and Sovereign, made his Zeal for what he called the Catholic Faith give way, on this Occasion, to his Interest ; and, under Pretence of serving his liege Lord the Emperor, wrote a very pressing Letter to *Urjus*, Duke or Doge of *Venice*, the *Venetians* making already no small Figure, conjuring him to assist his Son the Exarch, and exert his Zeal for the holy Faith, by attempting, in Conjunction with him, the Recovery of the Exarchate, which the wicked Nation of the *Lombards* had unjustly taken from his Sons the great Emperors *Leo* and *Constantine*. It was, as we have seen, out of Zeal for the holy Faith, or what the Pope thought the holy Faith, that the People had withdrawn themselves from all Subjection to the Emperor, and submitted to the *Lombards* : But as it was not the Interest of the holy See, that they should continue subject to them, it was, with the Pope, Zeal for the holy Faith to drive them out, though good Catholics, and reinstate the Emperor, though a Heretic, in the Possession of the Country, which they had seized. What was the Interest of the holy See was, with the Popes, the Interest of the holy Faith ; and it was by pretending to promote the Interest of the holy Faith, that they so successfully promoted the Interest of the holy

<sup>1</sup> Paul. Diac. l. 6. c. 32. Anast. in Greg. II.

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

245

Sec. The *Venetians*, no less jealous of the Power of the *Lombards*, <sup>Year of Christ 728.</sup> than the Popes, especially under so warlike and enterprising a Prince as *Luitprand*, promised to assist the Exarch in the Recovery of the Exarchate with the whole Strength of their Republic. They fitted out accordingly a considerable Fleet, pretending it was designed for the Service of the Emperor against the *Saracens*; but appearing with it, when least expected, before *Ravenna*, invested the Place by Sea, while the Exarch, who had raised what Forces he was able in the Cities still subject to the Empire, laid Siege to it by Land. *Luitprand* was then at *Pavia*; but the Town was taken by Storm, before he could assemble his Troops to relieve it <sup>Who, in Conjunction with the Exarch, recover the Place.</sup> m.

The City of *Ravenna* being thus recovered, the Pope, flattering himself that, as it had been recovered chiefly by his means, the Emperor would out of Gratitude hearken to his Remonstrances, took care to acquaint him with the eminent Service he had done to the Empire; and, at the same time, earnestly intreat him to give over an Undertaking, that exasperated, to the greatest Degree, the Minds of the People; estranged them from his Government; and would be certainly attended in the End with a general Revolt, and the Loss of the Provinces, that still remained to the Empire in *Italy*. He added, that as the Worship of Images had been ever approved by the Catholic Church, he not only would not himself comply with his Edict forbidding that Worship, but would, to the utmost of his Power, prevent it from being complied with by others. *Leo* well knew, that *Gregory* had consulted his own Interest, in getting the *Lombards* driven out of the Exarchate, more than his, or that of the Empire; and being at the same time sensible, that his Edict would not be received by the People, so long as the Pope, whom he now despaired of gaining over to his Side, continued to oppose it, resolved to rid himself, by some means or other, of so powerful an Adversary. Pursuant to that Resolution he hired, says *Anastasius*, three Assassins <sup>The Pope strives anew to divert the Emperor from his Undertaking.</sup> *Leo* said to have hired Assassins to murder the Pope. to murder the Pope; and at the same time wrote to *Mauritius*, Duke or Governor of *Rome*, secretly injoining him to assist the Assassins in perpetrating the Murder, and screen them after it from the Fury of the People. But the Murderers finding no favourable Opportunity of putting the Design in Execution, though one of them is said to have been a Deacon, who attended the Pope, the Emperor began to suspect,

Year of  
Christ 728.

that the Exarch *Scholasticus*, who owed the Recovery of the Exarchate and his Dignity to the Pope, did not countenance them as he ought. He therefore removed him, and sent *Paul* the Patrician to govern in his room, with private Instructions to encourage them with the Promise of great Rewards, and assure them, if they succeeded in the Attempt, of his Protection and Favour. But, in the mean time, the Conspiracy was luckily discovered, nobody knows how, nor by whom; and two of the Conspirators, falling into the Hands of the enraged Populace, were by them put immediately to Death. The third had the good Luck to escape to a Monastery, and there, as it was a greater Crime to force him from it, than it would have been to have murdered him out of it, he was suffered to spend the Remainder of his Life <sup>n</sup>.

But falsey.

For this Account, which has supplied all the later Historians with ample Matter for Invectives against *Leo*, the World is indebted to *Anastasius* alone: For he was the first, who discovered that Plot, and acquainted Posterity with it. The Historians, who lived much nearer to those Times than *Anastasius*, viz. *Theophanes*, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Nicephorus*, and Pope *Adrian* I. and were themselves no less prejudiced than he, and no less desirous of prejudicing the World against that excellent Prince, take no kind of Notice of any Attempt made by him, or by others, at his Instigation, on the Life of the Pope: A plain Proof, that the pretended Conspiracy was not in their Times yet discovered, nor heard of: For, to do them Justice, they have omitted nothing they ever had heard, true or false, that could render the Name and Memory of *Leo* odious to all future Generations. But no Wonder that the above-mentioned Writers were all Strangers to that Plot, or Attempt, since the Pope himself was, it seems, as great a Stranger to it as they: For in the Letter, which he wrote to *Leo* in 730. to shew that it was not without the greatest Provocation, that he had stirred up the People of *Italy* against him, he does not charge the Emperor with having ever attempted on his Life, with having hired Assassins to murder him; but only with having threatened to have him seized, and conveyed in Chains to *Constantinople*, as it had happened to Pope *Martin*, in the time of the Emperor *Constantine* <sup>o</sup>. And who can believe, that had the Emperor made such an Attempt on the Life of the Pope, had the Assassins, whom he employed, been apprehended,

<sup>n</sup> Anast. in Greg. II.

<sup>o</sup> Apud Bar. l. 9. 65, et seq.

and put publicly to Death, the Pope would not have known it; or, <sup>Year of</sup> knowing it, would not, on such an Occasion, have upbraided the <sup>Christ 728.</sup> Emperor with it?

The Design of the Emperor was therefore, in all Likelihood, only <sup>The Emperor orders the Pope to be seized, and sent to Constantinople.</sup> to have the Pope apprehended without Bloodshed or Noise, and sent to *Constantinople*, that he might not have it in his Power to raise Disturbances, to stir up the People to Sedition and Rebellion, and prevent by that means the Execution of his Edict in *Italy*. Agreeably to that Design, he sent fresh and most pressing Orders to the Exarch, to get the Pope, by all Means, and at all Events, into his Power, and convey him Prisoner to *Ravenna*, and from thence by Sea to *Constantinople*. In Obedience to that Order, the Exarch, finding the Pope was too much upon his Guard, and too well guarded by the Populace to be seized and conveyed away privately, as it had formerly happened to Pope *Martin* I, resolved to proceed by open Force; and having accordingly drawn together a considerable Body of Troops, he ordered them to march with all possible Expedition to *Rome*, to join the Garison there, and in Conjunction with them to seize on the Pope, in spite of all Opposition, and carry him with them back to *Ravenna*. With these Orders they set out on their March to *Rome*; but being informed, on their Arrival in the Neighbourhood of *Spoletto*, that a Body of *Lombards*, far superior to them in Strength, and in Number, was advancing full March to meet them, they laid aside all Thoughts of their intended Expedition to *Rome*, and returned in great Haste to *Ravenna*.<sup>1</sup> Those Troops had been sent by the King of the *Lombards* to protect the Pope, and prevent his falling into the Hands of the Exarch. For that politic Prince, foreseeing the Disturbances, that would be raised in *Italy* by the Pope, and not doubting but they would end in a Civil War between him, as he was supported by the Populace, and the Exarch, had resolved to suffer neither Party to prevail over the other, but by always siding with the weaker to keep the Balance even between them, and by that means prolong the War, till, the one and the other being sufficiently weakened, he should be able to crush them both. Pursuant to that Resolution, tho' he was highly incensed against the Pope for stirring up the *Venetians* to retake *Ravenna*, yet he no sooner heard of the March of

<sup>But the King of the Lombards espouses his Cause, and protects him.</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 57.

<sup>1</sup> Paul. Diac. ubi supra.

Year of the Imperial Troops, than, sacrificing his Revenge to his Interest, he espoused his Cause, and sent a strong Body of *Lombards* to protect him.

*The Emperor orders the Edict against Images to be published in Rome.* But as no Reasons or Arguments had yet been offered, either by the Pope, or the Patriarch, to satisfy the Emperor, and convince him, that to bow down to Images, and worship them, was not Idolatry, he still persisted in the Resolution he had taken, not to suffer any

Year of kind of Worship to be given to them, at least in the Empire. He sent accordingly, in the Beginning of the following Year, fresh and peremptory Orders to the Exarch *Paul*, to cause his Edict to be published, and strictly observed, in all the Cities of *Italy* subject to the Empire, especially in *Rome*, threatening to look upon those, who did not comply with it, as Rebels and Heretics, and to treat them as such. The Pope had flattered himself, that the Disturbances, which the Publication of the Imperial Edict had occasioned in the Exarchate, would have diverted the Emperor from pursuing his Design; but looking upon him now as an incorrigible Heretic, and well apprised, that the superstitious Multitude only waited for the Signal to renounce their Allegiance, and fly to Arms, thought it

*The Exarch excommunicated.* high time to give it; and he thundered accordingly, with great Solemnity, the Sentence of Excommunication against the Exarch as a Heretic, and an Abetter of a most execrable Heresy, for attempting, in Obedience to the express Command of his Sovereign, to publish the Edict against Images in *Rome*, or rather against Image-worship; for, by that Edict, the Emperor did not command all Images to be cast out of the Churches, and broken, as has been observed above; but only required his loving Subjects to worship God in Spirit and in Truth, to abstain from the Worship of Images as of so many Idols, and to suffer them to be raised higher in all Places of Prayer, that the ignorant Populace might not be tempted to bow down to them, to kiss them, or to perform to them any other external Acts of religious Worship, that were due only to

*The People of Rome revolt.* God. However, the Sentence of Excommunication was no sooner thundered against the Exarch, than the People of *Rome*, persuaded that the Whole of the Christian Religion was at Stake, flew to Arms, and, having overpowered the Garrison, pulled down all the Statues of the Emperor, broke them to Pieces, and openly declared, that since, of the Defender, he was become a Persecutor of the Catholic Faith,

Faith; and of those who professed it, they no longer acknowledged him for their Lord and Sovereign <sup>Year of Christ 729.</sup> <sup>r.</sup>

The Pope was sensible that the People of *Rome* were not capable, alone and unassisted, to support him against the Emperor, and the whole Strength of the Empire; and therefore undertook, not only to persuade the other Cities subject to the Empire in *Italy* to follow the Example of *Rome*, but to unite the different States there in a League against the Emperor as a common Enemy. With that View he wrote, as soon as he had excommunicated the Exarch, a circular Letter to the *Venetians*, to King *Luitprand*, to all the *Lombard* Dukes, and all the chief Cities in *Italy*, exhorting them to continue stedfast in the Catholic Faith; to guard themselves against the new and execrable Heresy, which the Emperor had undertaken to establish in the Church; and to oppose with all their Might the Execution of the impious Edict, which he had issued for that Purpose. Upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter the People took everywhere the Alarm, as if the Emperor had not only renounced himself, but intended to oblige all his Subjects to renounce the Christian Religion together with him. The People of *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d'Ancona*, not satisfied with renouncing their Allegiance to *Leo*, with pulling down his Statues, and breaking them, appointed by their own Authority Magistrates to govern them, during the pretended Interregnum; nay, and were for chusing a new Emperor, and conducting him to *Constantinople*, not doubting but the People would every-where join them in Defence of the Church and the Catholic Faith. But the Pope remembring the bad Success that had lately attended the People of the *Cyclades* in the like Attempt, and therefore not approving of that Project, it did not take place. The *Lombards*, and the *Venetians* from the Beginning a wise and politic People, promising themselves great Advantages from these Disturbances, joined with great Readiness the Pope, and the other Rebels, under colour of defending the Catholic Cause, and the Cause of the Church <sup>s.</sup>

But the Exarch *Paul*, a bold and enterprising Man, not in the least disheartened in seeing so great an Alliance formed against the Emperor, resolved to cause the Imperial Edict to be observed, at all Events, at least in the Place of his Residence, the City of *Ravenna*; <sup>Great Disturbances in Ravenna.</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Paul. Diac. l. 6. c. 9. Anast. in Vit. Gregor. II.

<sup>s</sup> Idem ibid.



Year of  
Christ 729.

messenger to *Rome* with a Letter, which he had received from the Emperor at his Departure from *Constantinople*. The Letter was directed to all the Officers of the Emperor in that City, and they were required by it, and commanded, to put the Pope to Death, at all Events, as a Disturber of the public Tranquillity, and an Enemy of the Empire. But the Letter was intercepted by the *Roman* People; and they would have torn the Messenger to Pieces in the Transport of their Zeal, had not the Pope interposed, and contented himself only with excommunicating the Exarch <sup>2</sup>. Thus *Anastasius*; and from thence the modern Advocates for Images have all taken Occasion, and above all *Maimbourg*, to indulge themselves in long Descants on the Cruelty, Treachery, Barbarity of *Leo*, as if it were Cruelty, Treachery, Barbarity in a Prince to put to Death, or cause to be put to Death, a Traitor, a Rebel, a declared Enemy both to him and the State. But against this Attempt lie the same Objections, that have been alleged above against that of the Exarch *Paul*, the Silence of all the other Writers, tho' they lived much nearer to those Times than the Bibliothecarian, nay, and of the Pope himself, who reproached the Emperor indeed with many other Things, but never charged him with having, at any time, attempted upon his Life, or given the least Encouragement to such an Attempt. Besides, what Advantage could the Emperor have reaped from the Death of the Pope? He well knew, that were he removed, the revolted *Romans* would chuse, without his Consent or Approbation, another in his room, and no doubt one, who, they were sure, would espouse the same Cause, and promote it with the same Zeal. But he had good Reason to believe, that could he once get him into his Power, he should be able to prevail upon him, as his Predecessor *Justinian* formerly prevailed on *Vigilius* <sup>2</sup>, to condemn what he had hitherto approved, and approve what he had hitherto condemned. All the Attempts therefore, said by *Anastasius* to have been made upon the Life of the Pope (and *Baronius* <sup>b</sup> reckons up no fewer than six), were, in all Likelihood, Attempts only to seize him; means not being wanting to convince him, had the Emperor had him in his Power, that Images were not to be worshiped.

The Exarch  
strives to  
gain the King  
of the Lombards.

However that be, the new Exarch, despairing of ever being able to reduce the Pope, and the other Rebels, so long as they were

<sup>a</sup> Anast. in Greg. II.

p. 77—79.

<sup>a</sup> See Vol. II. p. 412, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 726.

supported by the King of the *Lombards*, applied to him in the first Year of  
 Place; and he left nothing unattempted to gain him, or engage Christ 729.  
 him at least to stand neuter, and suffer the Emperor, his Friend  
 and Ally, if he would not assist him, to bring his rebellious Sub-  
 jects back to their Duty. He even offered to yield to the *Lombards*  
 for ever the Cities they had seized, and persuade the Emperor to  
 renounce, in the most solemn manner, all Title and Claim to them,  
 provided they joined him, and acted in Concert and Conjunction  
 with the Imperial Troops against the Pope and the *Romans*. But  
 the King had nothing less in his View, than to conquer all *Italy*;  
 and that he flattered himself he should be able to accomplish, when  
 by a long War (and he was determined by some means or other to  
 prolong it) both Parties were sufficiently weakened. He therefore  
 withstood all the Offers of the Exarch, alleging that he could not  
 in Honour abandon the Pope, nor in Conscience the Catholic Cause.  
 But that he only pursued his own Interest, under the Cloke of Ho-  
 nour and Conscience, as most Princes do, who pretend to either,  
 was soon made to appear on the following Occasion. Two *Lom-  
 bard* Dukes, *Thrasimund* of *Spoletto*, and *Gregory* of *Benevento*,  
 seeing *Luitprand* engaged in a War with the Emperor, took from  
 thence Occasion to shake off the Yoke, and claim, in their respective  
 Dukedoms, a Power and Authority independent on the King. Their  
 Revolt gave, at this Juncture, great Uneasiness to *Luitprand*, ap-  
 prehending that the other Dukes would be all prompted by them,  
 to follow their Example: But it offered to the Exarch the most  
 favourable Opportunity he could have wished for of applying anew  
 to the King, and attempting to engage him in the Interest of the  
 Emperor and the Empire; and he took care not to let it pass un-  
 improved. For he was no sooner acquainted with what had hap-  
 pened, than pretending great Friendship for the King, and no less And going  
him in the  
End:  
 Zeal for the Rights and Authority of Princes in general, he de-  
 clared that, far from lending any kind of Assistance to the Rebel  
 Dukes, it being a Precedent of most dangerous Consequence for  
 one Prince to assist or protect the Rebels of another, he was ready  
 to join the King with all the Forces under his Command against  
 them, on Condition that when they were reduced, he engaged to  
 join him with all his Forces against the Pope and the *Romans*. The  
 Proposal was approved by the King; the two Armies joined; and  
 marching thus joined, without Loss of Time, to *Spoletto*, surprised  
 there;

Year of  
Christ 729.

there, and struck the two Dukes with such Terror, that they immediately submitted, and, throwing themselves at the King's Feet, sued in that humble Posture for Pardon, which he readily granted them c.

Rome besieged by the Exarch and the King.

From *Spoleto* the two Armies marched, pursuant to the Agreement between the King and the Exarch, to *Rome*, and encamped in the Meadows of *Nero*, as they were called, between the *Tiber* and the *Vatican*. The *Romans* had openly revolted from the Emperor, had pulled down his Statues, had by their own Authority appointed Magistrates to govern them, and used the Officers of the Emperor with the utmost Barbarity, and all, who offered to oppose them, and maintain his Authority. As for the Pope, he not only had not restrained the People from such Excesses, but encouraged them in them; and could not but know that he was looked upon, and very deservedly, as the first and chief Author of all the Excesses, which they had committed. We may therefore well imagine how great was the Consternation and Dread, that seized both the People and him, at the Sight of two numerous Armies come to revenge the many Enormities of which they were, and knew themselves guilty. They were forsaken by the only Ally they had, and who alone was able to protect them; nay, he was, of their Friend and Protector, become their avowed Enemy; and they expected, and could expect, nothing but present Destruction.

The Pope repairs to the King's Camp.

In that Extremity the only Means that occurred to the Pope, and he thought might possibly succeed, of escaping the Vengeance, with which he was threatened, was to repair to the Camp of the *Lombards*, and there deliver himself up to the King. He hoped that, as the King had but very lately given so remarkable an Instance of his Good-nature and Mercy, in pardoning those who had revolted from him, he might perhaps be prevailed upon to interpose his good Offices with the Exarch in favour of those, who had revolted from the Emperor; the rather as he had encouraged them in, and reaped no small Advantages from their Revolt. Animated with that Hope, he set out, attended by some of his Clergy, and of the chief Citizens of *Rome*; and arriving at the King's Quarters, presented himself unexpectedly before him; represented to him, in a pathetic Speech, his present Distress; and earnestly begged, that to

the glorious Instance, which he had lately given of his Royal Mercy, he would add another still more glorious, that of delivering him, the City of *Rome*, and the whole *Roman* People, from the Jaws of Death and Destruction. The King, who was, it seems, a Man of great Humanity, was touched with his Speech, and so affected, if we believe *Anastasius*, with his Distress, that, throwing himself at his Feet, he begged Pardon for entering into an Alliance against him; and, assuring both him and the *Romans* of his Protection, he attended him to the neighbouring Church of St. *Peter*, and there disarmed himself in the Presence of his Officers, laying his Girdle, his Sword, and his Gantlet, with his royal Mantle, his Crown of Gold, and a Cross of Silver, on the Tomb of the Apostle. However, to fulfil his Engagements with the Exarch, he obliged both the Pope and the *Romans* to submit to him, to acknowledge his Authority, and to receive him, after he had promised a general Amnesty, into the City.

Year of  
Christ 729.

How received there.

The King obliges him and the Romans to submit to the Emperor.

While the Exarch was still at *Rome*, he was informed, that one *Petastus*, who had taken the Name of *Tiberius*, and pretended to be descended from the antient Emperors, had seduced several Cities in *Tuscany*, and was by them proclaimed Emperor. This Intelligence gave him great Uneasiness, the Army of the Usurper being already, as he was informed, far superior in Number to his, and acquiring daily new Strength. But he had treated the Pope and the *Romans*, tho' Master of the City, with the greatest Humanity and Kindness; had taken no manner of Notice of the many Excesses, which they had committed; and never once mentioned the Edict against Images; but, waiting for fresh Orders on that Head from the Emperor, had connived, in the mean time, at their worshipping what Images they pleased. The Pope therefore, partly out of Gratitude, and partly to regain the Favour of the Emperor, and incline him to hearken to his Complaints and Remonstrances, persuaded the *Romans* to join the Imperial Troops, and march jointly with them against the Rebels in *Tuscany*. With that Reinforcement the Exarch took the Field, defeated the Rebels, and, having taken the Usurper, cut off his Head, and sent it to the Emperor. The Pope did no more than what was his Duty, and the Duty of every Subject to have done at such a Juncture; and I cannot well

The Pope persuades the Romans to join the Exarch against the Usurper Tiberius.

† Anast. in Greg. II.

‡ Idem ibid.

§ Idem ibid.

Year of  
Christ 729.  
That no great  
Merit in the  
Pope.

comprehend in what he display'd that Nobleness of Mind, that Greatness of Soul, which on this Occasion *Baronius* and *Maimbourg* so much admire and extol in his Holiness. At the same time that these Writers bestow the highest Encomiums on the Pope, for thus returning, say they, Good for Evil, and Favours for Injuries, they paint the Emperor as a Monster of Ingratitude, for still urging the Execution of his Edict against Images; as if he ought to have suffered, out of Gratitude to the Pope, and in Return for the Service he had done him, all his Subjects to turn Idolaters. The Popes, as we may observe here by the way, proved ever very faithful and loyal to the Emperors, when *Rome* was, or they apprehended it to be, in the least Danger of falling under the Yoke of a Prince, who might reside there, and by his Presence defeat their ambitious Designs, and confine their Authority within its due Bounds. For thus were the Bishops of *Constantinople*, tho' no less ambitious than the Bishops of *Rome*, and ever aspiring to the same Grandeur and Power, restrained from the attaining of either. The Loyalty therefore of the Pope, on Occasion of the present Rebellion, was not perhaps so much owing to the Regard he had for the Interest of the Emperor, as to that which he had for his own: Nay, it is not at all improbable, that *Gregory*, considering the Distance of the Emperor, the distracted State of the Empire, the Weakness of the Imperial Army in *Italy*, and the Attachment of the People, especially of the *Romans*, to him, entertained at this time some Thoughts of making himself, or at least paving the Way for his Successors to make themselves, as they soon did, Masters of *Rome*; and consequently that it was to prevent any other Power from prevailing in *Italy*, which would have defeated at once all his Designs, that he exerted so much Zeal against the Usurper.

The Emperor  
resolves to re-  
move the Pa-  
triarch *Ger-*  
*manus*.

In the East the Imperial Edict was no better received by the People, especially at *Constantinople*, than it was in the West by the People of *Rome*. However, the Presence of the Emperor, and the numerous Forces, which he kept constantly on Foot to oppose the Attempts of the *Saracens*, awed the Populace; and restrained them at least from openly revolting, tho' the Patriarch *Germanus*, the famous *Damascene*, and under their Banners the whole Body of Monks, who found their Account in the new Superstition, made it their Business to stir them up to Sedition and Rebellion, persuading the ignorant Multitude, as appears from their Writings, that the Wor-  
ship

ship of Images was approved by our Saviour himself, was commanded by the Apostles, was looked upon by the primitive Church not only as lawful, but even as necessary to Salvation; and consequently, that to renounce that Worship was to renounce Christianity, and turn Jew or Mahometan &c. Leo, that Monster of Cruelty, with whom Contradiction was Treason, that inhuman wild Beast thirsting more after Blood than his Namesake the Lion, as he is painted by one of the impartial Writers of those Days, quoted by *Baronius* and *Maimbourg*, had now for three whole Years borne patiently with *Germanus*, respecting his Character, and unwilling to use any Violence with a Man of his Years; for he was at this time in the 95th Year of his Age: But finding that the aged Patriarch, relying on his Good-nature, grew daily more daring and insolent; that, in Spite of all the Kindness he could shew him, he still obstinately continued, and made it his Study, to inflame the Minds of the People against him, not only as the Protector, but the Author of a most damnable Heresy; nay, and that he had the Presumption to anathematize, in an Assembly of the Clergy, all, who did not worship Images, who thought it Idolatry to worship them, or communicated with those, who thought so; he resolved to oblige him, and thought it was high time, to resign his Dignity, or alter his Conduct. Having therefore sent for him to the Imperial Palace, he let him know, that since he abused the Authority that was given him to promote the Christian Religion, and the Purity of Worship among Christians, to countenance Idolatry, and the Worship of Idols, he must either quit that Authority, or use it for the Purpose, for which it was given him. Here *Maimbourg* makes the Patriarch recur to all the futile and unmeaning Distinctions, that are used in the Schools of the Jesuits to excuse the Worship of Images from Idolatry. But *Leo*, he adds, was extremely ignorant, and consequently did not understand those Distinctions. If not to understand them argues an extreme Ignorance, I should be glad to know where the Man is to be found that has any Knowledge (B).

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• Apud Bar. ad Ann. 727. p. 88, 89.

(B) *Theophanes* writes, that, at this Interview, *Germanus* told the Emperor, that, according to an antient Prophecy, all Images were indeed to be one Day pulled down, and cast out of the Churches; but

VOL. III.

that it was not, he thanked God, in his Reign that so wicked a Thing was to happen; that the Emperor thereupon asked him, in whose Reign it was to happen; and that he answering in the Reign of one

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*Conon*,

Year of  
Christ 730.

A great Council  
assembled  
by the Empe-  
ror.

The Emperor, finding that *Germanus* was not to be gained; but at the same time unalterably determined, as he thought it his Duty, to banish Idolatry (for so he called the Worship of Images) at all Events, and in Spite of all Opposition, from the Church, or at least from the Empire, assembled a grand Council a few Days after his Interview with the Patriarch, *Theophanes* says on the seventh of *January 730*. to concert with his Ministers, and the chief Men of the Empire, the most proper and effectual Means of accomplishing so commendable a Work. At that Council assisted the Emperor in Person, the Senate, all the great Officers of State, all the Bishops, who were then at *Constantinople*, and among the rest the Patriarch himself, in virtue of an express Order from the Emperor. They met in the great Hall of the magnificent Palace adjoining to the *Hippodrome*, called the Palace of the nineteen Bed-tables, because on *Christmas-day* the Emperor used to entertain the Nobility there at nineteen Tables, none of them sitting on that Occasion, but all lying on Beds after the manner of the ancient *Romans* <sup>h</sup>.

Determined  
there, that  
Images should  
be cast out of  
the Churches,  
and broken.

As the Fathers of the second Council of *Nice* ordered all Writings, Records, Acts of Councils, &c. against Images, to be destroyed, the Only Thing we know of this Council is, that it was there determined, that since Images could not be allowed, as was now found by Experience, and Idolatry prevented, or the ignorant Multitude be restrained from worshipping them, they should be all pulled down, cast out of the Churches, and destroyed <sup>i</sup>. A Determination worthy of so Christian an Emperor, and so august an Assembly! *Baronius*, and his Transcriber *Maimbourg*, would make us believe, that the Emperor abruptly declared, at his first coming into the Council, and without consulting any of the Assembly, or giving them an Opportunity of speaking on the Subject, that it was his Will and Pleasure, that all Images should

<sup>h</sup> Vide Ducang. Constantin. Christian. 1. 2. n. 6. .  
secund. Alexand. 728.

<sup>i</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. Incar.

Canon, *Leo* replied, *That is my Name, the Name that was given me at my Baptism*. At these Words the good Patriarch, adds *Theophanes*, struck with Horror, cried out in the greatest Consternation, *Heaven forbid such a Prophecy should be accomplished in your Reign! the Prince, in whose Reign that happens, is to be the Forerunner of*

*Antichrist* (1). Thus *Theophanes*. But that *Leo* was not the Forerunner of Antichrist, though he caused all the Images to be pulled down, and cast out of the Churches; and consequently, that the Author of the pretended Prophecy was a false and lying Prophet; will now, I believe, hardly be denied even by *Baronius*.

(1) Theoph. ad Ann. Leon. 13.

be cast out of the Churches, and broken; as if he had called together all the chief Men of the Empire only to disoblige and affront them at a time when he most stood in need of their Aid and Concurrence.

Year of  
Christ 730.

As the Worship of Images had yet prevailed only among the Monks, the Populace, and the Women, I am rather inclined to believe, that the above-mentioned Determination was approved, and agreed to, by all but *Germanus*. We do not, at least, read of its being opposed by any but him; and it is not at all to be doubted, but had others opposed it as well as he, their Names would have been transmitted to Posterity, as well as his, and with the highest Encomiums. He indeed, far from consenting to the Demolition of Images, maintained, and, to do him Justice, with great Intrepidity, that they ought not only to be retained, but worshiped; and, upon the Emperor's pressing him to sign the first an Edict, which so many Men, no less distinguished by their Learning and Piety, than their Rank, were ready to sign after him, he boldly told him, that he attempted in vain to extort his Consent to, or Con-  
That Determination probably approved by all but Germanus,  
Who opposes it, and resigns his Dignity.  
Not ill used, nor put to Death by the Emperor.  
 vivance at, so wicked an Action; that he would ever oppose it to the utmost of his Power; and that, if they apprehended the present Storm to have been raised by him, they might throw him, like another *Jonas*, into the Sea. At these Words he divested himself of his Pall, delivered it to the Emperor, and having thus resigned his Dignity, withdrew to the House, in which he was born, and there passed the Remainder of his Life quite undisturbed <sup>k</sup>. Thus *Theophanes*, and with him agree *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anastasius*, and even *Cedrenus*. But *Baronius*, *Maimbourg*, *Natalis Alexander*, &c. displeased at the Moderation shewn on this Occasion, according to the Accounts of those Writers, by the Emperor, as not at all suiting the Character, in which they constantly paint him, of a passionate, cruel, and barbarous Tyrant, of an ever-roaring and all-devouring Lion, add from the legendary Writers, that *Germanus* was soon after dragged, by the Emperor's Order, from the Place of his Retreat to a distant Monastery; that he was most inhumanly used, and cruelly beaten, by the Soldiers, who conveyed him to it; and that he had not been long there, when he was, by a new Order from the Emperor, barbarously strangled in the hundredth Year of his Age. He was descended of a Patrician Family. His Father *Justinian* was put to Death by the Emperor *Constantine Pogonatus*, we know not for what Crime; and he,

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.



Year of  
Christ 730.

for speaking on that Occasion with too much Freedom, made an Eunuch. Being thus well qualified for the Ecclesiastical Order, he betook himself to the Church; and, having passed through all the inferior Degrees, was raised to the See of *Cyzicus*, and translated from thence to the See of *Constantinople* <sup>1</sup>. He is said to have applied himself chiefly to the Study of the holy Scriptures; but his maintaining the Lawfulness of Image-worship, so often and so expressly condemned in the holy Scriptures, is no Proof of his having made any considerable Progress in that Study. He is now honoured as a Saint, and his Anniversary is kept on the twelfth of *May*.

Anastasi-  
us appointed in  
his room.

He was succeeded by *Anastasi-  
us*, whose indefatigable Endeavours to root out the prevailing Idolatry, in Conjunction with the Emperor, have given Occasion to the more modern *Greek* Writers to represent him as the most wicked of Men. But, with them, all, who opposed the Worship of Images, were the most wicked of Men; and all Saints of the first Rate, who countenanced that Worship. Had the Writings of both Parties reached our Times, we should have, without all Doubt, very different Accounts of both: But the good Fathers of *Nice* took care, that we should hear only one Side. As to *Anastasi-  
us*, the more antient and more credible Writers were utterly unacquainted with the many enormous Crimes that have been laid to his Charge by the later *Greek* Writers, and copied from them by *Baronius*, and *Maim-  
bourg*.

The Pope de-  
clares him de-  
posed, if he  
does not re-  
nounce his  
pretended  
Heresy.

The new Patriarch had no sooner taken Possession of his See, than he wrote to the Pope to acquaint him with his Promotion, and beg his Communion: But *Gregory*, finding that he did not approve of the Worship of Images, instead of acknowledging him for his fellow Bishop, declared him deposed from his Dignity, and divested of all Power, if he did not, upon the Receipt of his Letter, renounce his Heresy, and embrace the Catholic Faith <sup>m</sup>: For though the Worship of Images had not yet been decreed, nor approved, nor so much as mentioned, in any Council whatever, all, who did not worship them, were looked upon as declared Heretics by those, who did, and they, who worshiped them, as the only good Catholics. The Patriarch paid, as we may well imagine, no kind of Regard to the Letter, or the Sentence, of the Pope.

<sup>1</sup> Theoph. in Constantin. Pogonat.

<sup>m</sup> Anast. in Greg. II.

The Emperor was not, it seems, at first, averse to the Use of Images, but rather of the Opinion of Pope *Gregory the Great*, that Images should neither be destroyed, nor worshiped <sup>a</sup>; and he had done all that lay in his Power to prevent their being worshiped, without destroying them. He had ordered them, as we have seen, to be raised higher in all Places of Worship, flattering himself, that being out of the Reach, and less exposed to the View of the Populace, the Multitude would be thus weaned, by degrees, from their Superstition, or would not, at least, be so easily tempted to bow down to their Images, to prostrate themselves before them, to kiss them, deck them with Flowers after the manner of the Gentiles; and, as he expressed it, make them their Gods, by giving them the Worship that was due to God alone: But now, convinced by Experience, that the Use of Images could not possibly be allowed, and the Worship prevented, he resolved to lay the Ax to the Root, and cause, pursuant to the Determination of the late Council, all Images, without Distinction, to be pulled down, to be broken in Pieces, and publicly burnt. And here I cannot help admiring the invincible Firmness and Constancy, the true Christian Spirit and Zeal, of this most excellent Emperor, in thus pursuing undaunted so difficult an Undertaking, notwithstanding the great Opposition, which it had already every-where met with, and the far greater, which it was likely to meet with from the more than ever provoked Superstition and Rage of the People. Some about the Emperor, better Statesmen than Christians, apprehending the dreadful Consequences, which they foresaw would attend the Destruction of Images, took the Liberty to suggest to him, that he had better suffer the ignorant Multitude to worship what Images they pleased, even those of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, or *Apollo*, than involve the Empire in endless Disturbances, and expose both his Crown and his Life by attempting to cure an Evil, which they looked upon as quite incurable. But the good Emperor, thinking it incumbent upon him to reform the Abuses in the Church as well as the State, and ready to risque all, rather than to be wanting in so essential a Part of his Duty, instead of hearkening to so wicked a Suggestion, ordered the Edict, or Decree of the Council, to be immediately published, and put in Execution. It was published accordingly; and no sooner was it published, than the Officers, who were charged with the Execution of it, began, in the

Year of  
Christ 730.

Edict issued  
commanding  
all Images to  
be cast out of  
the Churches  
and broken.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 233, 234.

Year of  
Christ 730.

first Place, pursuant to the express Order of the Emperor, to pull down, break, and destroy, all the Images, that were set up in the public Places of the Imperial City, and consequently of all others the most apt to seduce the superstitious and ignorant Multitude, as being constantly exposed to their View.

*The Execution of that Edict opposed by the Populace, and the Women.* Among these was an Image of our Saviour over the Gate of the Imperial Palace, called the *Brazen Gate*, from the Tiles of gilt Brass, that covered the magnificent Vestibule, or Porch, before it. That Statue the Emperor, to begin with his own Palace, ordered to be pulled down the first of all, and dashed in Pieces. But they had scarce begun to execute that Order, when, the Report of such an Attempt spreading, and it spread in an Instant all over the City, the Populace, ready to part with their Lives rather than their Images, flew to Arms, and crowding from all Quarters to the Imperial Palace, fell, in the

*Several of the Emperor's Officers barbarously murdered.*

Transport of their Rage, on the Emperor's Officers, and put many of them to Death on the Spot °. The Women had hitherto never concerned themselves in religious Disputes; but being naturally fond of Pictures and Images, and finding their Children took great Delight in them, and learnt by their means, before they were capable of learning by any other, the Mysteries of our holy Religion, they were not, in this Dispute, and on the present Occasion, behind-hand in Zeal with the Men: For they too, transported with divine Rage, says the Deacon *Stephen*, and forgetful of their Sex, flew to the Palace, and finding there one of the Officers busied on the Top of a Ladder in pulling down the holy Image, overset the Ladder, and rushing, in the Heat of their Zeal, on the unhappy Wretch, while he lay on the Ground bruised with his Fall, tore him in Pieces P. Thus did the impious Minister of the Emperor's Impiety, says another Writer of those blessed Times q, fall at once from the Top of the Ladder to the Bottom of Hell.

*The Patriarch grossly insulted by the Women.*

But the Zeal, or the Rage, of these Furies was not yet satisfied. The new Patriarch was thought to have suggested the late Edict to the Emperor; and on him chiefly they wanted to wreak their Vengeance and Fury. From the Imperial Palace therefore they flew, like so many blood-thirsty Tigers, to the great Church; where they were informed, that the Patriarch was then performing divine Service; and, laying aside

° Theoph. ad Ann. Leon. 10.  
Loppin. Anal. Græc. Tom. 1.  
Theodosiæ.

P Steph. Diac. in Vit. S. Steph. Junior. apud  
Constantin. Acropolit. in Encom. S.

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

263

all Shame and Modesty for the sake of Christ, says one of the Authors of this Account †, entered the Church, and, without any Regard to the Sacredness of the Place, discharged a Shower of Stones at the Patriarch, calling him Wolf, Thief, Traitor, Heretic, and all the opprobrious Names, that female Rage, wrought up to the highest Pitch, could suggest. The Patriarch received several Wounds, and so did those, who attended him; but nevertheless he had the good Luck to escape with his Life, and to reach, through By-ways, the Imperial Palace. He there informed the Emperor of what had passed, who immediately ordered his Guards to appease the Tumult; and many of the Rioters, Women as well as Men, were killed by the provoked Soldiery before it was appeased. Some of the more audacious and obstinate were seized, and either publicly executed as guilty of Treason, Sedition, and Murder, or whipt, and sent into Exile. These just Executions have given occasion to the more modern Greek Writers, *Cedrenus, Zonaras, Glycas, Constantine Manasses*, and their Transcribers *Baronius, Maimbourg, and Natalis Alexander*, to compare this good Emperor to the *Nero's*, the *Dioclesian's*, and the other bloody Tyrants and Persecutors we read of in the Annals of the Church, as if he had exercised the same Cruelties on the Worshipers of Images, that were exercised by them on the Worshipers of Christ.

Year of  
Christ 730.

Many of the  
Rioters either  
killed by the  
Soldiery, or  
publicly exe-  
cuted.

From their Accounts one would conclude, that he had commanded a general Massacre; and that all the Women of *Constantinople*, and the greater Part of the Men, had by his Orders been inhumanly butchered. In the *Greek Martyrology* it is said, that nine Men, who are all named, and one Woman, *Maria*, descended of a Patrician Family, were thrown into different Dungeons; that they there received, for the Space of eight Months, 500 Lashes a Day; and that when they were ready, at the Term of that time, to expire (and it was a great Miracle that they did not expire sooner), the Emperor ordered their Faces to be pricked with red-hot Bodkins, and then their Heads to be cut off, and their Bodies to be cast into the Sea ‡: With such Instances of *Leo's* Cruelty have the later *Greeks* filled their Histories; and their Accounts, *et quidquid Gracia mendax audet in historia*, have been all copied by *Baronius, Maimbourg, and Natalis Alexander*; nay, and improved. But *Theophanes*, who lived near 300 Years before the earliest of the above-mentioned Writers, and was as great an Enemy to *Leo* as *Bar-*

None suffered  
on this Occa-  
sion, but such  
as were con-  
cerned in the  
Riot.

† Metaphrast. apud Bar. ad Ann. 726. p. 59.

‡ Menæ. ad Diem 9. August.

Year of  
Christ 730.

*ronius*, or *Maimbourg*, and as zealous a Worshiper of Images as either (for he died an Exile in that Cause), supposes none to have suffered on this Occasion, but such as were concerned in the Riot spoken of above. For all he says is, that the Populace rose in a tumultuous manner; that they killed many (not some, as *Baronius* has it) of the Emperor's Officers attempting to pull down the Image of Christ over the *Brazen Gate* of the Palace; and that many of them, that is, of those, who were concerned in that Riot, were punished with the Loss of their Limbs (perhaps of the Hands, which they had imbrued in the Blood of the Emperor's Officers), with Stripes, with Banishment, and with the Forfeiture of all their Effects<sup>1</sup>. Had the Protestant Subjects of *Lewis XIV.* been guilty of the same Excesses, when required to worship Images, which the Subjects of *Leo* were guilty of when forbidden to worship them, would *Maimbourg*, who on this Occasion exaggerates above all others the Cruelty, the Barbarity, the Tyranny of the Emperor, have thought it Cruelty, Barbarity, Tyranny, in the Grand Monarch, to have treated his Subjects as *Leo* treated his?

Tale of the  
Oecumenical  
Master, and  
twelve Pro-  
fessors, burnt  
with their  
College by the  
Emperor's  
Order.

The above-mentioned Writers, not satisfied with exaggerating, in the manner we have seen, the Punishments that were justly inflicted by *Leo* on his rebellious Subjects, and representing them as the Effects of Tyranny, have charged him with innumerable Acts of Cruelty, that have not the least Appearance of Truth, nor Foundation in History. But of the many Instances they allege of his more than brutal and infernal Barbarity, to use the Expression of *Maimbourg*, I shall only take Notice of the following two; as they are thought the most authentic of all, and related most at Length by the modern Historians, to raise the Indignation of their Readers against that most religious and excellent Emperor. There was, say they, in *Constantinople*, a kind of College, consisting of a Master, stiled, from his universal Knowledge, the Oecumenical Master, and twelve Professors, all chosen out of the most learned Men of the Empire, to instruct the Youth in the different Branches of Literature, each of them in that particular Branch, to which they had most applied, and chiefly excelled in. Their Fame for Learning drew Crouds of Disciples to them from all Parts of the World; and they were so highly esteemed for their Wisdom and Probity, by the Emperors them-

<sup>1</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. Leon. 10.

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

265

selves, that they undertook nothing without previously advising with them. This famous College was founded, they say, and endowed, <sup>Year of</sup> ~~Christ 730.~~ by *Constantine the Great*, and enriched by the succeeding Emperors, with the most costly Ornaments and Furniture, with innumerable Vessels of Silver and Gold, with all the valuable Rarities which the then known World could afford; but, above all, with a Library, consisting, according to *Constantine Manasses*, of 33,000 (E), according to *Glycas*, of 36,500 choice Books, for the Use of the Professors and Students. Among the other invaluable Curiosities to be seen there, was that famous Miracle of Art in little, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* distinctly written in Letters of Gold, on the great Gut of a Dragon. As the Oecumenical Master and the twelve Professors were universally revered as so many Oracles, and the Eyes of the whole People were upon them, the Emperor did not doubt but if he could gain them, their Example would be followed by the rest of his Subjects. He therefore sent for them to his Palace, and having there alleged to them some childish and trifling Reasons, and he could allege none but what were childish and trifling, against the Worship of Images, he spared neither Caresses, nor Threats, nor Promises, to gain them over to his Party. But he laboured in vain: They were too well versed in the Scriptures and Fathers, to be convinced by him, that to worship Images was Idolatry; and Men of too much Zeal for the Truth, and too much Firmness and Constancy in the Cause of Truth, to yield to his Caresses, to his Threats, or his Promises: Nay, they maintained in his Presence the Lawfulness of Image-worship, and proved it with such Reasons and Arguments, as nothing could have withstood, but the most invincible Obstinacy (F).

Leo

(E) *Maimbourg* is here guilty of a Mistake, that shews him equally unacquainted with the *Greek* and the *Latin*. For he tells us, that the Library consisted of three hundred and three thousand Books, taking the *Greek* Word *trifmyrias*, and the *Latin* *tricena millia*, that signify 30,000, to signify 300,000 (1).

(F) If so, the Reasons and Arguments, which they alleged, must have been of a very different Nature from any, that have

been alleged since their time. And what a Pity that the Writers of those Days all forgot to acquaint Posterity with them! Had they transmitted them to us, *Maimbourg* would have had no Occasion to recur, as he does in the long Speech, which he makes for the Oecumenical Master, and his twelve Professors, to the Picture sent by our Saviour to the King of *Edessa* (2), to the Statue of *Pancas*, and the Miracles wrought by the Herb, that grew at the

(1) *Maimb. Hist. Icon. l. I. p. 73.*

(2) See above, p. 203. Note A.

Year of  
Christ 730.

*Leo* therefore, despairing of ever being able to convince or to gain them, resolved to exert all his Cruelty, and punish their Constancy in so exemplary a manner as should strike the whole Empire with Terror, and teach the rest of his Subjects, that he was their Sovereign, and would be obeyed. He ordered accordingly those innocent Men to be all shut up in their College, great Quantity of dry Wood to be piled all round it, and Fire to be set to it in the Night; which soon consumed them, and, with them, that stately Habitation of the Muses, that so famous Library, and that inestimable Treasure of Rarities, which the Emperors had been employ'd in collecting, and at an immense Expence, ever since the Time of *Constantine the Great*.

The Whole a  
mere Fable.

No Account  
of it in the  
more ancient  
Writers.

Thus *Cedrenus*<sup>y</sup>, *Zonaras*<sup>z</sup>, *Glycas*<sup>a</sup>, and *Constantine Manasses*<sup>b</sup>. But that the Whole, from the Beginning to the End, is a mere Fable, without so much as the least Appearance of Truth, may be easily made to appear beyond all Contradiction. And, 1<sup>st</sup>, Of this Conflagration not the least Notice is taken either by the Fathers of the second Council of *Nice*, tho' it is supposed to have happened but forty-seven Years before the Meeting of that Council, and consequently in the Memory of some of the Bishops, who composed it, nor by any of the many Historians, who wrote in the present and the two succeeding Centuries, tho' they relate, exaggerate, and even seem to have believed all the ill-natured Actions they ever had heard of that good Emperor. And who can believe, that so remarkable an Event could have happened, and been so soon forgotten, or never been once mentioned by those who remembered it? What could have induced the Historians, who lived in or near to those Times, and made it their Study, as appears from their Writings, to paint *Leo* as the most wicked of Men; what, I say, could have induced them to pass over in Silence an Act in him of so much brutal Barbarity, as none could be guilty of but the most wicked of Men? Is not their Silence a far stronger Proof of his

<sup>y</sup> Cedren. in Leon. Isaur. p. 454.  
Part. 4. p. 281.

<sup>z</sup> Zonar. Hist. l. 3.

<sup>a</sup> Glyc. Annal.

<sup>b</sup> Constantin. Manass. in Compend. Chron. p. 87.

Foot of that Statue (3); and much less to Worship, which they give to Images, from the Distinctions and Cavils, that are now the Idolatry, which the Pagans were all used by the Schoolmen to excuse the charged with by the Fathers (4).

(3) See above, p. 207.

(4) Maimb. Hist. des Iconoclast. l. 1. p. 70—81.

Innocence;

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

267

Innocence, than the Assertions of Writers, who lived two, three, <sup>Year of</sup> and four hundred Years after them, are of his Guilt? For *Cedrenus*, <sup>Christ 730.</sup> the first, who related that tragical Story, and probably invented it, wrote in the eleventh Century; and from him it was copied, and notably improved, by *Zonaras* and *Glycas*, but most of all by *Constantine Manasses*, whom therefore *Baronius* and *Maimbourg* have chiefly followed, tho' he wrote so late as the Middle of the twelfth Century. II. That famous Library, with all the Books and <sup>The Library</sup> Rarities it contained, and the above-mentioned *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in <sup>consumed by</sup> particular, was consumed, according to *Suidas*\*, by accidental Fire <sup>Fire long be-</sup> in the Time of the Emperor *Zeno*, about 250 Years before the <sup>fore Leo's</sup> Reign of the present Emperor: And *Suidas* is, at least, as worthy of Credit as any of the Authors quoted by *Baronius* and *Maimbourg* (G). III. Had these learned Men stood up against *Leo* in De- <sup>Such an Acti-</sup> fence of Images and Image-worship, might he not have easily re- <sup>on repugnant</sup> moved them, have banished them to the most distant Parts of <sup>to the Rules</sup> the Empire, have caused them to be privately, or even publicly ex- <sup>of Policy, and</sup> ecuted as Rebels, and appointed others in their room, who would <sup>common Pru-</sup> have taught and maintained with as much Zeal the Unlawfulness, as they are supposed to have taught and maintained the Lawfulness of that kind of Worship? Why should he have chosen to destroy them in so cruel and barbarous a manner? And what could he possibly have proposed to himself in destroying together with them one of the most stately Edifices and Ornaments of the Imperial City, with that invaluable Collection of Books and Rarities, which it had cost his Predecessors so much Pains and Treasure to collect, when he could not but know, that he would have thereby raised the Indignation of all Mankind, disgraced his Undertaking, and prejudiced the whole World against it? Was that acting like a wise Prince,

\* *Suid.* in *Malcho*.

(G) *Maimbourg* indeed, to reconcile the Testimony of *Suidas* with that of his Authors, allows the Library to have been burnt in the Reign of *Zeno*; but at the same time supposes it to have been rebuilt, to have been filled anew with Books and Rarities, and the wonderful Copy of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to have been saved out of the first Fire, and consumed in the second. But that Supposition has not the least Foun-

dation in History; and *Suidas* mentions that curious Performance in particular, among the many valuable Things that were consumed by Fire in the Reign of *Zeno*. But *Maimbourg* would rather allow it to have perished a second time, as well as the Books and the Library, than absolve *Leo* from the Guilt of so barbarous and wicked an Action.



Year of  
Christ 730.

for such his whole Conduct bespeaks him, or even like a politic, crafty, and subtil Prince, as he is represented by *Baronius* and *Maimbourg*, and not rather like a Mad-man? IV. The Imperial Palace, the Palace of the Patriarch, and his Library, the famous Church of *St. Sophia*, that Wonder of the East, were all adjoining, or very near, to the College; and therefore had Fire been set to it, and to the Library, containing thirty-three or thirty-six thousand Volumes, the other Buildings must have been all consumed, or would at least have been in great Danger of being consumed by the same Fire. And can any Man believe, that *Leo*, to be revenged on a few Men, whose Obstinacy he might have punished in a thousand different Manners, would have exposed his own Palace, and so many noble Edifices, to so great a Danger? I might add, that in the Menology of the *Greeks*, tho' filled with the Names of Monks, and other obscure Persons, who suffered in this Cause, not the least Mention is made of the Oecumenical Master, and the twelve Professors; and yet, if what is said of them were true, they would have a much better Title to a Place among the Martyrs than any, who are honoured in that Number. But that the Whole is an Invention, destitute even of the Appearance of Truth, is sufficiently manifest from what has already been said.

*Leo charged  
with attempt-  
ing to get Da-  
mascene put  
to Death.*

The other Charge they bring against *Leo* is, his having attempted, by the basest Artifice, and the blackest Treachery, a Man could be guilty of, to get the famous *Damascene*, or *John of Damascus*, put to a cruel Death, tho' not a Subject of the Empire, for maintaining, in Opposition to his Edict, the Worship of Images. *Damascene* was, according to the Author of his Life *John of Jerusalem*, a Native of *Damascus*, descended from one of the most illustrious and wealthy Families of that antient City. His Father was a most zealous Christian, but nevertheless so highly esteemed by the *Saracen* Princes, Lords of *Damascus*, that, reposing in him an entire Confidence, they preferred him to the first Employments of the State, and undertook nothing either at home or abroad without

*Damascene  
highly esteem-  
ed by the Ca-  
liph of the  
Saracens.*

his Advice and Direction. The Son was no less esteemed by them for his eminent Virtue, and extraordinary Talents, than the Father; and was therefore, upon his Death, not only appointed by the Caliph to succeed him in all his Employments, but trusted besides, notwithstanding his known Zeal for the Christian Religion, with the Government and Defence of *Damascus*, at that time the Metropolis

of

of *Syria*, and the Bulwark of the *Saracen* Empire. But *Damascene*, <sup>Year of Christ 730.</sup> tho' thus engaged in Secular Affairs, and Affairs of State, no sooner heard of the Emperor's last Edict, commanding all Images to be removed out of the Churches, and destroyed, than, fired with Zeal for the antient Doctrine and Practice of the Church, he undertook to oppose so wicked an Attempt. He opposed it accordingly, and with such Success, by the learned Writings, which he daily published, and his Friends took care privately to disperse all over the Empire, that the Emperor, despairing of ever being able to establish his Heresy, so long as the Catholic Doctrine was maintained by so able an Advocate, resolved to remove him by some means or other out of the Way.

With that View he forged a Letter, as written to him by *Da. Leo* <sup>said to have attempted his Ruin, and by what Means.</sup> *mascene*, to inform him, that the City of *Damascus* was weakly garisoned, and very ill guarded; that he might easily surprize it; that he needed only send for that Purpose a small Body of Troops, and that he would take care to open the Gates to them, as he commanded in the Place; and put them in Possession of the Metropolis of *Syria*, and the whole Treasure of the Caliphs, without the Loss of a Man. He conjured the Emperor not to neglect so favourable an Opportunity of delivering so flourishing a City from the Tyranny of the *Saracens*, and enriching himself with the Spoils of the Enemies of the Christian Name. This Letter the Emperor caused to be copied by one, who could perfectly counterfeit the Hand-writing of *Damascene*, and sent it thus copied to the Caliph, with one of his own, wherein he assured him of the Sincerity of his Friendship, and his firm Resolution, inviolably to observe the Articles of the Treaty lately concluded between the *Romans* and *Saracens*; which he said the Caliph could no longer doubt of, since he had chosen rather to adhere to the Terms of that Treaty, than make himself, by a Breach of them, Master of his Metropolis, and all his Treasures, which the very Person, in whom he chiefly confided, had, by an unparalleled Treachery, offered to deliver up to him, and earnestly entreated him, as he might learn from his Letter, to accept. He added, that the Traitor, looking upon those as his Enemies, who differed from him in Religion, had thought it his Duty to betray, in so flagrant a manner, the Trust they had reposed in him; but that as no Disagreement in Religion could, in his own Opinion, authorize or justify Treachery, instead of availing himself

of

Year of  
Christ 730.

of the Offer, that was made him, he had thought it his Duty to discover the Traitor, who made it, tho' a Fellow-Christian and a Friend.

*The Caliph  
orders his  
right Hand  
to be cut off.*

Upon the Receipt of that Letter the Caliph, knowing that *Damascene* was a most zealous Christian, and therefore concluding him guilty, without further Inquiry, of the Crime, that was laid to his Charge, sent for him; shewed him both Letters; and after many bitter Reproaches ordered his right Hand, the Hand with which he was thought to have written so criminal a Letter, to be immediately cut off, and exposed on a Gibbet to the View of the whole City. *Damascene* withdrew, after so cruel and shameful a Punishment, to his own Habitation; and from thence sent in the Evening, when he thought the Caliph might be returned to himself, some of his Friends to beg that he would cause his Hand to be taken down, and restored to him, in order to be buried; the Pain, which he suffered, and must suffer, so long as it continued above-ground, and exposed to the Air, being quite insupportable.

*Which is mi-  
raculously re-  
stored to him.*

The Caliph, now coolly reflecting on what he had done, and sensible that he had, at least, acted too rashly, readily complied with the Request; and *Damascene* prostrating himself, as soon as his Hand was delivered to him, before an Image of the blessed Virgin, besought her by a fervent Prayer to restore him to the Use of it, since she well knew, that the Loss of it was owing to his Zeal in combating the new Heresy, and maintaining, in Opposition to the Heresiarch *Leo*, the Worship of her and her Son in their Images. He had scarce ended his Prayer, when falling asleep he dreamt that the Image of the Virgin, appearing to him with a smiling and heavenly Countenance, granted him his Request, but on Condition that he continued to employ his Hand, as he had hitherto done, in combating, by his Writings, the Impiety of those, who had undertaken to abolish a Worship so acceptable to her Son and to her. He awaked with Joy, and found his Hand restored to its Place, and himself to the free Use of it, with only a small Scar round the Place, where it had been severed from the rest of his Body. That Mark was left, that he, by seeing it, might be kept constantly in Mind of so miraculous a Cure, as well as the End, for which it was wrought. Of this Miracle the whole City of *Damascus* was an Eye-witness, and the Caliph himself among the rest, who, being thereupon convinced of the Innocence of his Minister, begged publicly

licly Pardon for the Injustice he had done him; and, unwilling to <sup>Year of</sup> ~~part~~ with so faithful a Servant, omitted nothing, that lay in his <sup>Christ 730.</sup> Power, to persuade him to resume his Employments, and continue in his Service. But the Saint, panting after a monastic Life, pre- <sup>He turns</sup> ~~vailed~~ in the End, and having made over his immense Wealth, and <sup>Monk.</sup> all his Possessions, partly to his Relations, and partly to the Church and the Poor, he left the World as naked as when he first came into it (his Garments excepted, as the Author of his Life takes care to observe); and withdrew, no less lamented by the *Saracens* in *Damascus* than the Christians, to the famous Monastery of St. *Sabas* in *Palestine*. There, mindful of his Engagement, and the End for which he was, at the Expence of so great a Miracle, restored to the Use of his Hand, he continued to employ it so long as he lived in combating the new Heresy, and mainraining, in Opposition to the Blasphemies of *Leo*, and his Followers, the Catholic and Apostolic Doctrine.

Thus *John of Jerusalem*, in his Life of *Damascene*; and thus, <sup>The whole</sup> after him, *Baronius* <sup>Account evi-</sup>, *Maimbourg* <sup>dently fabu-</sup>, and *Natalis Alexander* <sup>lus.</sup>. But to convince even the most credulous, that the Whole is a mere Fable, I need only observe, that such an extraordinary Event, so stupendous a Miracle, which soon filled with its Fame, says *Maimbourg*, the whole Christian World, is vouched by *John of Jerusalem* alone, an obscure Writer of the ninth Century; and that not the least Notice is taken of it by any other Author whatever, nay, not even by *Damascene* himself. And can even the most credulous Papist imagine, that so marvellous an Event, an Event that filled the whole Christian World with its Fame, could have possibly escaped all the Writers, who lived before the time of *John of Jerusalem*, and all who lived after it? Is not their Silence an evident Proof, that in the time of those, who wrote before him, this Fable was not yet invented; and that it appeared to those, who wrote after him, too grossly absurd to deserve any Notice? In what other manner can we account for the Silence of so many Writers, with respect to a Fact so favourable to the Cause, which they had all most zealously espoused? But tho' so surprising an Event could have escaped all other Writers, it could not surely have escaped *Damascene*.

<sup>a</sup> Joan. Hier. in Vit. Joan. Damaf.  
<sup>b</sup> Maimb. Hist. des Iconoclast. l. 2. p. 116. 124.  
 Ecclef. Secul. 8. c. 2. Art. 1. p. 664,

<sup>c</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 728. p. 92, 93.  
<sup>d</sup> Natal. Alexand. Hist.

Year of  
Christ 730.

himself; nor could he have ever forgotten so great a Miracle wrought on himself: And yet not the least Mention is made, nor so much as a distant Hint given of it by him in all his Works. He wrote three Orations against the Iconoclasts, and could *Baronius* or *Maimbourg* think, that if he had recovered his Hand in the manner we are told, he would not have there, at least, mentioned so miraculous a Cure; and urged it against those, with whom he disputed, as an unanswerable Proof, that the Worship of Images was pleasing to God? I might add, that it is highly improbable, to say no more, that the Caliph of the *Saracens*, who, by the way, is never once named, should have trusted a Christian with the Government and Defence of his Metropolis; a zealous Christian, nay, and a most sanguine Advocate for the Worship of Images, to which the *Saracens* had all an utter Abhorrence; that he should have reposed an entire Confidence in *Damascene*, knowing him to be a Christian, and yet concluded him guilty, without farther Inquiry, of the blackest Treachery, because he was a Christian; that he should have been an Eye-witness of so great a Miracle wrought in favour of Images, and yet continue a *Mahometan*, an Enemy to Images; that *Leo*, tho' convinced of the Truth of the Miracle, should, instead of yielding, and abjuring his former Opinion, be more confirmed in it, and persecute, as he is said to have done, with more Cruelty than ever, all who opposed it: But the Reader will perhaps, think that I have dwelt already too long on so idle a Story. And truly I should not have thought it worthy of a Place in this History, tho' gravely related by *Baronius*, *Natalis*, and *Maimbourg*, had it not been to shew, by so remarkable an Instance, what Means were employed, what absurd and improbable Stories were invented, to establish among the ignorant Vulgar the growing Superstition.

*The Imperial  
Edict put in  
Execution all  
over the East,  
and Images  
every-where  
destroyed.*

To return to *Leo*, the People of *Constantinople* finding him unalterably determined to have his Edict put, at all Events, in Execution, and to spare none, who opposed it, Fear in the End got the better of Superstition; and they tamely suffered their most revered Images to be pulled down, to be cast out of the Churches, to be broken, or torn in Pieces, and publicly consigned to the Flames. In the Provinces the Execution of the Edict was opposed with great Warmth by some Bishops; viz. by *Emilianus* of *Cyzicum*, *Eudemon* of *Lampsacus*, *Basilus* of *Parium*, and *Nicholas* of *Apolonias*;

*Ionias*; but they being driven from their Sees, and sent into Exile with some obstinate and refractory Monks, who attempted to stir up the Populace to Rebellion, and have been canonized on that Account, the Emperor had, and in a very short time, the so much and so long wished for Satisfaction, of seeing the far greater Part of his Empire, all the Eastern Provinces, cleansed, to use his Expression, from the Filth of Idolatry.

Year of  
Christ 730.

As for the Western Provinces, the Emperor was well apprised, that the Execution of his Edict would meet there with great Opposition; that the Pope, who had opposed with so much Obstinacy his former Edict, tho' only commanding Images to be placed higher in the Churches, would leave nothing unattempted to render this ineffectual, ordering them to be removed out of all Places of Worship, and destroyed; that he would, in all Likelihood, not only stir up his own Subjects, but all the Western Princes, against him as a Heretic; and that thereupon a general Revolt might ensue, and perhaps be attended with the Loss of the Provinces, that were still subject to the Empire in *Italy*. Of all this the good Emperor was well apprised; but, chusing to risque the Loss of those Provinces, rather than suffer them to continue unreclaimed from their Idolatry, he resolved to cause his Edict to be published in *Italy*, and to be, so far as in him lay, as punctually executed there, and as strictly complied with, as it was in all the other Provinces of the Empire. The Pope had broken off all Correspondence with the Emperor ever since the Year 726. when he published his first Edict; had armed all his Subjects in *Italy* against him as a Heretic; had countenanced them in the many unnatural Murders they committed in Defence of their Images; and, by the Disturbances he raised, given Occasion to the warlike King of the *Lombards* to seize on several Cities, and extend his Dominions at the Expence of the Empire. But *Leo*, He writes to forgetting so monstrous a Conduct, and not yet, it seems, quite de- the Pope. spairing of being able to gain him, or at least determined to do all that lay in his Power to gain him, resolved to write to him on this Occasion; and he wrote to him accordingly, at the same time that he sent his Edict to the Exarch, to be published in *Italy*. His Letter has not been suffered to reach our Times, nor indeed has any other Writing whatever against the Worship of Images. But from the Pope's Answer to it, it appears, that he alleged several Passages out of the Scripture, to shew that it was not lawful, that it was

Year of  
Christ 730.

Idolatry to worship any thing that was made with Hands; that he justified his casting all Idols (for so he constantly called Images) out of the Church, by the Example of King *Hezekiah*, who broke the brazen Serpent, and cast it out of the Temple, when he found that it was worshiped by the People; that he proposed the Assembling of a General Council, and declared himself ready to acquiesce in the Decision and Judgment of the Bishops who composed it; that he assured the Pope of his Protection and Favour, if he complied with his Edict; but threatened, if he did not, to cause him to be seized, and carried Prisoner to *Constantinople*, where he should meet with no better Treatment from him than his Predecessor Pope *Martin* had met with from the Emperor *Constans*; and that, in the Close of his Letter, he earnestly intreated the Pope not to oppose so commendable a Work as that of extirpating Idolatry, but rather to concur with him, with *Anastasius* the holy Bishop of *New Rome*, and many other venerable Prelates, in promoting it, in removing out of the Sight of the People the Stocks and the Stones which they worshiped, and in restoring the Christian Service to the Purity of the primitive Times <sup>h</sup>.

*The Pope's  
Answer to  
his Letter:  
filled with  
the grossest  
Abuse.*

As it was an Act of the greatest Condescension in the Emperor, to write the first to the Pope after his late so criminal Behaviour, and so long a Silence on either Side, his Letter deserved, on that Consideration alone, had the Pope been even upon the Level with him, to be answered at least with common Respect and Civility. But, instead of that, the insolent Pope, forgetting that he wrote to his liege Lord, and his Sovereign, answered him in a Stile, that would be quite unbecoming in a Wretch of the lowest Condition to his Equal. For, not satisfied with contemptuously treating him as a School-boy; with bidding him go and learn his Catechism among the Children at School, and take care not to let his School-fellows know that he is an Enemy to Images, lest they should throw their Table-books at his Head; he addresses him almost in every Line with the Epithets of *ignorant, blockish, stupid, dull*; calls him a conceited Pretender to Learning, but void not only of all Learning, but of all Judgment and Sense; not able, for his Stupidity and Dulness, to distinguish between Right and Wrong, between Falshood and Truth; worse than a Heretic, since Heretics err in Points that

are intricate and obscure, whereas he erred in Points as clear as the Light of the Day. This *Baronius* calls a Letter *worthy of the high Pontiff*<sup>i</sup>. Indeed no Man upon Earth, but the high Pontiff, would have had the Presumption to write such a Letter to his Lord and Master.

But his Holiness was better at Abuse than at Argument. When the infallible Head of the Church undertakes to prove a Catholic Doctrine, and confute the opposite Error, one might expect to hear something uncommon, and very extraordinary, some convincing and unanswerable Argument in favour of the one, and against the other. But, alas! all the Reasons alleged by *Gregory*, to prove the Lawfulness of Image-worship, are either quite impertinent, and foreign to the Purpose, or the very same that were offered by the Pagans in Defence of their Idolatry, and a thousand times answered by the Fathers. In the first Class we may rank the Arguments, which he draws from the *Works done in Gold, in Silver, and in Brass*; by the two Artificers *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab*<sup>k</sup>, from the Tables of Stone written with the Finger of God<sup>l</sup>, from the Ark, the Cherubim upon the Ark, the Table of Shittim-wood, and the Pot of Manna, which were all Figures and Images, says the Pope, made by God's own Command. But what have these Images to do with the present Question, whether it is lawful to worship the Work of Mens Hands? None of these Images were set up to be worshiped, nor did the *Jews* ever worship them. They are therefore very impertinently brought in to prove the Lawfulness of Image-worship; and yet this is all his Holiness could allege from Scripture, to countenance that kind of Worship (F). He adds, that Images put us in mind of the Objects,

<sup>i</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 726. p. 65.  
vers. ultim.

<sup>k</sup> Exod. ch. xxxi. ver. 4. et 6.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid

(F) From these Words, *Adore ye the Footstool of God* (1), some have concluded, that the *Jews* really worshiped the Ark, which they will have to be meant by the *Footstool*. But the *Chaldee* Paraphrast renders these Words thus, *Worship him in his Sanctuary*, understanding by the Footstool the Sanctuary, which surely was not to be worshiped; and those who think, that the Ark was meant by the Footstool,

interpret the Words of the Psalmist, *Worship before, or at his Footstool*, agreeably to what we read in Psalm cxxxii. *We will worship at his Footstool* (2). Some of the Fathers indeed, namely, *Ambrose*, *Jerom*, *Austin*, *Athanasius*, and *Chrysostom*, have thought that we are commanded to worship the Footstool itself; but by the Footstool they understood the Humanity of Christ, and not the Ark. *The Scrip-*

(1) Psal. xcix. ver. 5.

(2) Psal. cxxxii. ver. 7. See Sim. de Muis in loc.



Year of  
Christ 730.

jects, which they represent; that they stir us up to Compunction, which he says he can attest upon his own Experience, since he never entered the Church of *St. Peter*, but at the Sight of the Image of that Apostle his Eyes became two Fountains of Tears; that they instruct the Ignorant, and raise their stupid and dull Minds from the Things of this Earth to those of Heaven. And are they therefore to be worshiped? Ought we not rather to worship the Bible, that instructs us much better than Pictures or Images, and raises our Minds, more than any Pictures or Images, from the Things of this Earth to those of Heaven? That some Advantages attended Images, and the Use of Images, *Leo* knew as well as the Pope, and would therefore have been glad to have retained them: And it was not till he

ture, says *Austin*, elsewhere (3) calls the Earth God's Footstool; and does he bid us worship the Earth? This throws me into great Perplexity. I dare not worship the Earth, lest he should damn me, who made the Heaven and the Earth; and dare not but worship his Footstool, because he commands me to worship it. In this Perplexity I turn to Christ; and in him I find Relief. For his Flesh was Earth (4). From this Passage it is manifest, that *Austin* did not think the Ark, or any other mere Creature whatever, a proper Object of Worship; nay, elsewhere (5) he will not allow even the Humanity of Christ to be otherwise worshiped, than as it is, and because it is, united to the Divinity.

As for the two Statues, or Images of the Cherubims, on which great Stress is laid by some Popish Writers; we may in the first Place give the same Answer to those, who urge them in favour of Images, that was given by *Tertullian* to those, who urged the brazen Serpent: *If thou observest the same God, thou hast his Law, Make no Similitude; as to the Command of making a Likeness, do thou also imitate Moses; make no Image against the Law, unless God commands thee to make it* (6). II. Those Images were concealed from the Sight of the People, and kept in the Holy of Holies, which the High Priest entered but

once a Year, and none of the *Jews* were so much as allowed to look into; a convincing Proof, that they were not set up, as the Popish Images are, to be worshiped; the Worshipping of invisible Images, or Images that were never to be seen, being a thing never before heard of, and plainly repugnant to the original Design or Institution of Images; which was, that Men might have visible Objects of Worship, and through them worship the invisible Beings. Let the Church of *Rome* but keep her Images from the Sight of the People, and no Protestant will quarrel with her about them. III. That the Images of the Cherubim were not intended for Objects of Worship, is allowed by many very eminent Roman Catholic Divines; viz. *Vasquez* (7), *Lorinus* (8), *Azorius* (9), *Visorius* (10), &c. And the Reason they give is, because they were not set up for their own sake, but only as Appendages or Ornaments to another thing, the Throne of God, to whom alone Worship was given: Nay, the Angelic Doctor *Aquinas* says, in express Terms, that the *Seraphim* (meaning the Cherubim) were set up only as Symbols of the Divine Presence, and were by no means to be worshiped (11). Indeed there is not in Scripture the least Intimation of any kind of Worship having ever been paid to them.

(3) Isa. xvi. 1. Matth. v. ver. 35.  
de Verb. Domin. secund. Joan. Serm. 58.  
Disput. 104. c. 6.  
I. 9. c. 6.  
Art. 4. ad 6.

(4) Aug. in Psal. xcix.

(6) Tert. de Idol. c. 5.

(8) Lorin. in Act. xvii. 25.

(10) Visor. Resp. ad Moncei.

(11) Aquin. Art. 1, 2. Quæst. 102.

(5) Idem.

(7) Vasc.

(9) Azor. Instit. Moral.

found by Experience, that Images could not be allowed, and Idolatry prevented, that he undertook to destroy them.

Year of  
Christ 730.

The Pope proceeds, and tells the Emperor, that the Fame of our Saviour's Preaching, and the Miracles he wrought, being spread all over the World; good Men flew to *Jerusalem* from the most distant Parts of the Earth, agreeably to that of St. *Matthew*, *Wheresoever the Carcase is, there will the Eagles be gathered together*<sup>m</sup>; for Christ, says the Pope, is the Carcase, and the good Men are the Eagles, *Christus cadaver, aquila religiosi sunt homines*. Now these good Men were all, it seems, Painters; for *Gregory* adds, that, having seen our Lord, they painted him, such as they saw him, that we too might see him; that, in like manner, they painted *James* the Brother of our Lord, and *Stephen* the Protomartyr, and the other Martyrs, and Champions of the Faith; and that these Images being every-where shewn, Men renounced the Worship of the Devil throughout the World, and worshiped them: So that, according to the Pope, the Apostles, and first Planters of the Christian Religion, carried those Images about with them; and it was to them that the Conversion of the World was owing. It were to be wished he had named those Painters (for St. *Luke* was not known to have been a Painter till some hundred Years after<sup>n</sup>), and let us know what Authority he had for the many Things he advances, which no Man had ever heard of before. *Gregory* does not forget the Picture sent by our Saviour to *Abgarus* King of *Edeffa*<sup>o</sup>; but takes not the least Notice of the *Veronica*, no less famous in our Days, than the Picture of *Edeffa* was in his: He soundly asserts, that the Worship of Images was approved, confirmed, and established, by all the General Councils held to his time; whereas it is certain, and allowed on all hands, that of Images not the least mention was made in any of those Councils; nor, indeed, in any other whatever; except that of *Eliberis*, which condemned not only the Worship, but even the Use of Images in all Places of Worship p. And was *Gregory* infallible? He was, says *Baronius*; for he meant no more, than that none of the General Councils had condemned the Worship of Images: And are *not to condemn, and to approve*, synonymous Terms? By means of such Explanations and Comments, *Baronius* himself might be proved, notwithstanding all his Blunders, as infallible as the Pope.

Or grounded  
on mere Fa-  
bles:

<sup>m</sup> Matth. c. xxiv. ver. 28.  
<sup>n</sup> p. 203, Note A.

<sup>o</sup> See above, p. 204, Note D.  
<sup>p</sup> See above, p. 225.

<sup>q</sup> See above,

Year of  
Christ 730.

Or the very  
same, that  
were alleged  
by the Pa-  
gans, to jus-  
tify their Ido-  
latry.

As for the Reasons alleged by *Gregory* to excuse from Idolatry the Worship, that was given to the Images of Christ, of the Virgin *Mary*, and of the other he and the Saints, they are the very same that were alleged by the Pagans, when charged with Idolatry, and derided by the Fathers, for the Worship, which they gave to the Images of *Jupiter*, and of their other Gods, Goddesses, and Heroes; viz. That Images were not looked upon as Gods by those, who worshiped them, nor worshiped as Gods; that they were not worshiped for their own sake, but for the sake of those, whom they represented; that the Worship given to the Image, passed from the Image to the Original, &c. 9. Thus the learned Pagans answered the Fathers charging them with Idolatry in the Worship of Images; and thus the Pope answers the same Charge, only adding, that the Pagans worshiped not God in their Images, but the Devil; which I have shewn above to be absolutely false. 1. The Pagans worshiped the true God as well as the Pope; but were charged with Idolatry by the Fathers, because they worshiped Images, and other Creatures, together with him.

In what Sense  
we are for-  
bidden, ac-  
cording to the  
Pope, to wor-  
ship the Work  
of Mens  
Hands.

The Emperor had said in his Letter, that we are forbidden to worship the Work of Mens Hands; and urged that Prohibition against the Worship of Images. In Answer to that the Pope tells him, that such a Prohibition was only made for the sake of the Pagans, who dwelt in the Land of Promise, and worshiped Animals of Gold, of Silver, and Brass, and Birds, and all other Creatures; and said, *These are our Gods, and there is no other God*; as if there ever had been such Fools in the World; that such Images were made in Honour of the Devil; and that we were therefore forbidden to worship them; but that the Work of Mens Hands, when made for the Honour of God, ought to be worshiped. *Gregory I.* had declared, that the Work of Mens Hands *ought by no means to be worshiped*; and *Gregory II.* declares, that the Work of Mens Hands *ought to be worshiped*. And it is to be observed, that both speak of Christian Images, and consequently of the Work of Mens Hands done, as was pretended, for the Honour of God: But both were infallible; *Gregory I.* in forbidding Images to be worshiped, and *Gregory II.* in commanding them to be worshiped. *Gregory I.* spoke *ex cathedra* to *Serenus*, and *Gregory II.* spoke *ex cathedra* to *Leo*. What a great Change was made in the

1 See above, p. 215, Note B.  
above, p. 234, 235.

2 See above, p. 218, Note D.

• See

## Gregory II. BISHOPS of Rome.

27

Doctrine and Practice of the *Roman Church* in the Space of little more than a Century!

Year of  
Christ 730.

*Leo*, to justify his casting Images out of the Churches, and breaking them, had alleged the Example of the King, who broke the brazen Serpent, and cast it out of the Temple; but ascribed, it seems, to King *Uzziah*, what was done by King *Hezekiah*: For the Pope repeating the Words of the Emperor's Letter, *You have*, says he, *written to us thus: Uzziah, King of the Jews, cast the brazen Serpent out of the Temple; and I have cast the Idols out of the Church*, The brazen Serpent was broken, as is well known, not by *Uzziah*, but his great Grandson *Hezekiah*, who, on that Account, is commended in Scripture, and said *to have done that, which was right in the Sight of the Lord*†. But the Pope, not perceiving the Mistake, nor knowing that to break the brazen Serpent *was right in the Sight of the Lord*, abuses at the same time the King for breaking it, and the Emperor for following his Example. *Uzziah*, says he, *who cast the brazen Serpent out of the Temple, was your Brother, such a Man as yourself, proud, insolent, headstrong, one, who offered Violence, as you do, to the Priests of his Time*: He adds, that the brazen Serpent was brought into the Temple, with the Ark, by the holy King *David*, who died, as all know, who ever dipt into the Bible, before the Foundation of the Temple was laid; and from thence he concludes, that it was wrong in *Uzziah* to remove it out of the Temple, and destroy it. But the Pope was, as is evident, very little acquainted with the Bible; and as he was so very little acquainted with it, as to think that it was wrong in *Hezekiah* to cast the brazen Serpent out of the Temple, and break it, it is not at all to be wondered, that he should have thought it wrong in the Emperor to cast Images out of the Churches, and break them: But, had he thought it worth his while to consult the Bible, and found there, that *Hezekiah*, in breaking the brazen Serpent, *did that which was right in the Sight of God*; I should be glad to know what Answer he would, in that Case, have returned to the Emperor, who did no more than what *Hezekiah* had done, and was commended for doing (G).

To

† 2 Kings, c. xviii. ver. 3, 4.

(G) The *Jews*, says here *Bellarmino*, brazen Serpent as a God; that the good answering for the Pope, worshiped the King knew, and therefore destroyed it (1).

(1) Bell. de Imag. Sanct. l. 2. c. 17.

But

Year of  
Christ 730.

His Answer  
to the Pro-  
posal of as-  
sembling a  
General  
Council:

And to the  
Threats of  
the Emperor.

To the Proposal made by the Emperor of assembling a General Council, the most effectual means that had been employed by his Predecessors, to put an End to the Disputes in the Church, *Gregory* answers, that there was no Occasion to assemble a General Council; that, if he would but be silent, an End would be thereby put to all Disputes, all Scandals would be removed, and the World would again enjoy its former Tranquillity. "But suppose," says the Pope, "I should obey you, suppose Bishops should assemble from all Parts of the World, where could they find a pious and religious Emperor to take his Place among them, according to Custom, in order to reward those, who speak well, and check such, as speak amiss? As for you, you are more like a Barbarian than a Christian Emperor; and actually engaged in a turbulent, wicked, and insolent Undertaking: Pursue it no further; trouble the World no longer; and the Assembling of a Council will be needless. But you threaten," continues the Pope, "and think to frighten us, saying, I will cause even the Image of St *Peter* in *Rome* to be broken in Pieces, and the Pontiff *Gregory* to be seized, and carried in Chains to *Constantinople*, as it happened to Pope *Martin* in the Time of the Emperor *Constantine*: But your Threats make no Impression upon us; the Pontiff *Gregory* needs only retire 24 Furlongs from *Rome* to be

But how did the good King know, that the *Jews* worshiped it as a God? That he could only have concluded from their burning Incense to it, the only Reason alleged in Scripture for his destroying it: But, if he concluded from thence, that they worshiped it as a God; it will follow, by an undeniable Consequence, that to burn Incense to an Image, which is daily done in all the Popish Churches, was, in the Opinion at least of that good King, to worship it as a God. *Vasquez*, not able to persuade himself, that the *Jews* were such Fools and Idiots, as to believe, that the brazen Serpent was a God, delivers it as his Opinion, that they gave no other Worship to that Image, than what is given, in his Church, to the Images of Christ, and the Saints; but thinks, that the Worship, which is lawful to Christians, was unlawful to the *Jews* (2). But who made the

Worship lawful to the Christians, that was unlawful to the *Jews*? Was it not the second Commandment, that made it unlawful for a *Jew* to bow down to an Image, and worship it? And does not that Commandment bind alike the Christian, and the *Jew*? or who repealed it? Our Saviour came not to destroy, but to fulfil the Law; and who else could destroy it? Might we not as well pretend the Laws, forbidding Theft, Murder, or Adultery, to be binding only with respect to the *Jews*? The Truth is; *Hezekiah*, finding that the People burned Incense to that Image, broke the brazen Bauble *Nebuchstan* (3), as he called it, in Pieces, without inquiring whether they burned Incense to it as a God, or only as an Image or Representation of God, the one and the other being, as he well knew, contrary to the Law.

(2) *Vasq.* in 3. Disput. 104. Art. 3. c. 5.

(3) 2 Kings, c. xviii. ver. 4.

“ out of your Reach, and bid you Defiance. It is true the holy Pontiff *Martin* was seized, was carried in Chains, by tyrannical Violence, to *Constantinople*, and, after unheard of Sufferings, sent from thence into Exile: But *Constans*, by whom he was thus inhumanly treated, was murdered in the Church (H), and died in his Sin; whereas *Martin* is honoured all over the North as a Saint; and People flock from all Parts to his Tomb, where miraculous Cures are daily performed in their Favour: I should think myself happy, could I tread in his Footsteps; but yet think it adviseable to consult my own Safety at so critical a Juncture, since the Eyes of the whole West are upon me; and all trust in me, and in him, whose Image you threaten to have broken in Pieces; nay, all the Kingdoms in the West look upon him as a terrestrial God: Let me therefore advise you not to meddle with his Image. The People in the West are all ready to revenge, and would upon such a Provocation, the cruel and undeserved Treatment which their Friends have met with from you in the East. And now that I have warned you, I shall be innocent of the Blood that will certainly be shed, if you offer to insult, as you threaten to do, the Prince of the Apostles in his Image.” In the Close of his Letter he tells the Emperor, that he has been invited to administer Baptism to a great Lord in the most distant Parts of the West (perhaps a *German* Lord converted by *Boniface*, who was preaching, at this time, the Gospel in *Germany*); that he is preparing for the Journey; but that it gave him the greatest Concern to reflect, that, while the Barbarians turned Christians, a Christian Emperor should turn Barbarian. He ends with praying God to convert him from his wicked Ways; that, being sensible of his Error, he may renounce it; and, adhering to Truth, repair the Scandal he has given to the World <sup>u</sup>. Thus did *the Servant of Servants, the Successor of St. Peter*, who taught Subjection to Kings, and to Magistrates <sup>w</sup>, the *Vicar* of the meek and humble Jesus, write to his Lord and his Master. A Letter worthy indeed, as it was thought by

Year of  
Christ 730.

<sup>u</sup> Apud Bar. ad Ann. 726. p. 65—77.

<sup>w</sup> 1 Pet. c. ii. ver. 13, 14.

(H) The Pope was not, it seems, better acquainted with History, than he was with the Scripture. *Constans* was not murdered in the Church, but in the Bath at *Daphne*, as has been related above (1); and is attested by all the Authors, who speak of his Death.

(1) See above, p. 89.

Year of  
Christ 730.

*Baronius*, and *Pagi*, of the High Pontiff \*: I defy all History to produce such another from a Subject to his Sovereign. As to the Epithets of *dull, ignorant, stupid*, &c. which the Pope so freely bestows, throughout his Letter, on the Emperor, I leave it to the Judgment of the Reader, which of the two those Epithets fitted best, *Gregory* or *Leo*? Which of the two most wanted to be sent to School, the Emperor to learn his Catechism among the Children, or the Pope to read among the Children the Bible?

Approves the  
Murder of  
the Imperial  
Officer.

I cannot help observing, before I dismiss this remarkable Letter, that the Pope there approves of the Murder of the Imperial Officer <sup>y</sup>; and commends the Zeal of the Women, by whom he was so inhumanly murdered, blasphemously comparing them to the Women in the Gospel, who brought Spices and Ointments to anoint the Body of our Lord in the Sepulchre <sup>z</sup>, *Succensæ zelo, et illarum æmula, quæ unguenta ferebant* <sup>a</sup>. Why he compared those Furies to these holy Women, I know not, nor can I so much as conjecture; but from his comparing them it is manifest, that he thought the one Action as meritorious as the other; the murdering the Officer as meritorious as the anointing the Body of our Lord in the Sepulchre.

Condemns all  
Images of  
God the Fa-  
ther, and the  
Trinity.

Another Thing worthy of Notice in that Letter is, that the Pope, at the same time that he pleads so earnestly for the Images of Christ and the Saints, disapproves and condemns all Images of God the Father, and the Trinity. *We make no Images*, says he, *of God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, because it is impossible to paint or describe him: But if we had seen or known him, as we have seen and known his Son, we should have painted and represented him as well as his Son*. The Patriarch *Germanus* <sup>b</sup>, *Damascene* <sup>c</sup>, and *Stephen the younger* <sup>d</sup>, the three most renowned Champions, after the Pope, in the Cause of Images, in like manner disapprove all Representations of God the Father, and for the same Reason, because he is *Invisible, Incorporeal, without Quantity, Magnitude, or Form* <sup>e</sup>. *We should err indeed*, says *Damascene*, *should we attempt to make an Image of God, who cannot be seen* <sup>f</sup>. This Error the Church of *Rome* has added to her other Errors; and now Images representing the *incorruptible God like unto a corruptible*

\* Bar. ubi supra. Pagi Breviar. Rom. Pont. p. 528.

<sup>z</sup> Luke c. xxiii. ver. 56. et c. xxiv. ver. 1.

<sup>y</sup> German. Ep. ad Joan. Synod. Aët. 4. Concil. Nic.

et 3. de Imag.

<sup>f</sup> Idem Orat. 2.

<sup>z</sup> See above, p. 262.

<sup>a</sup> Apud Bar. ad Ann. 726. p. 71.

<sup>b</sup> Damasc. Orat. 1, 2,

<sup>c</sup> Damasc. Orat. 1.

*Man* are not only allowed, but often seen exposed at the same time to public Worship in the Churches, and to public Scorn on the Sign-<sup>Year of Christ 730.</sup>posts. When such Images were first allowed we know not; but *Christianus Lupus* assures us, that, in the time of Pope *Nicholas I.* raised to the Chair in 858. they were not yet used in the *Roman Church* 8. The only Argument they allege for the Lawfulness of such Images is the general Practice of the Church, which, they say, would never suffer them to be publicly set up, as she does, if they were unlawful 1: But the Church did not suffer them to be set up in the primitive Times, nor till many Ages after; and should we not from thence rather conclude them unlawful, than conclude them lawful from her suffering them to be set up in later Times? If the Church does not err now in allowing such Images, she erred for the Space of nine hundred Years, at least, in not allowing them.

One would think, that *Leo*, upon the Receipt of so abusive a Letter, and so injurious to the Imperial Dignity, would, at least, have broken off all Correspondence with *Gregory*, as a declared Rebel and Enemy. But, instead of that, the good Emperor, overlooking, with a Greatness of Mind scarce to be matched, the insolent and affronting Behaviour of the Pope, no sooner received the above-mentioned Letter, than he wrote to him again: But, as his Letter was an Answer to the Pope's, Care has been taken that we should only know from the Pope's Reply what he wrote. *Gregory* begins thus; "We have received your Letter by *Ruffinus* your Embassador; and Life itself is become burdensom to us, finding that, instead of abandoning, you pursue more obstinately than ever, your wicked Resolution. Are they, whom you have chosen for your Guides, wiser than *Gregory the Wonder-worker*, than *Gregory of Nyssa*, than *Gregory the Divine*, than *Basil*, and *Chrysostom*, than Thousands of other holy and learned Fathers, whom we think it needless to name?" He does not produce a single Passage or Text out of these Thousands of holy and learned Fathers; but would have the Emperor to take it upon his Word, that they all worshiped Images; whereas it is certain, that some of the very Fathers he names, far from worshiping Images, tho' they lived after the third Century, condemned even the Use of them in all Places of Worship 1. "You say," continues *Gregory*, "that

8 Lup. Not. in Constantin. c. 5. 1 Bellar. de Imag. l. 2. c. 8. Vasquez ad 3. Aquin. Disput. 103. c. 3. Arriag. ad 3. Aquin. Disp. 5. Tanner. t. 3. Disput. 5. Quæst. 2. Dub. 3. &c. 2 See above, p. 230, &c.



Year of  
Christ 730.

“ you are both Emperor, and Priest : Your Predecessors indeed *Constantine the Great, Theodosius, Valentinian, and Constantine the* Father of *Justinian*, who built Churches, enriched and embellished them, were deservedly stiled both Priests and Emperors : But as for you, who have stript the holy Places of their Ornaments, who have sacrilegiously disfigured them, and left them quite naked, what Right can you have, what Claim or Pretension, to the Title of Priest ?” He then repeats what he had said in his former Letter concerning the many Advantages accruing from Images ; and adds, that Men, Women, and Children, were edified by them ; more especially Children, while their Mothers and Nurses, holding them in their Arms, pointed out to them, in the Pictures, the Sufferings of our Saviour, and the Combats of the Martyrs. A childish Argument for the Use, and quite impertinent as to the Worship of Images ! As the Children were thus pleased and edified with Pictures and Images, we need not wonder, that the Women, who had never before interfered in religious Disputes, should have so zealously taken Part in this, and distinguished themselves, in the manner we have seen.

*The Emperor writes another Letter to the Pope.*

The Pope had roundly asserted, in his Answer to the Emperor's Letter, that the Use and Worship of Images had been approved and confirmed by the six General Councils : That the Emperor knew to be false, being, it seems, better acquainted than the Pope with the Councils, as well as the Scriptures. In his Reply therefore he told him, that he was not a little surpris'd at his so confidently asserting, that the six General Councils had all approved and confirmed the Use and the Worship of Images, since it was very certain, and might be easily demonstrated, that Images were not so much as once mentioned in any of those Councils : He added, that he should be glad to know, why none of the Councils had ever once mentioned them, if they were, as his Holiness pretended, so useful and necessary ? To that very pertinent Question, the Pope returned as impertinent an Answer.

*That Images were not mentioned by any of the General Councils, is owned by the Pope.*

*You ask, says he, how it happened, that nothing was said of Images in any of the six General Councils : And how happened it that nothing was said of Eating and Drinking in any of those Councils ? Eating and Drinking were necessary from the Beginning ; and so were Images : For the Bishops carried them with them to the Councils ; and no Man of any Religion or Piety ever travelled without them. Here, in the first Place, the Pope tacitly owns, as is manifest, that*

that no mention was made of Images in any of the six General Councils; though, in his former Letter, he had positively affirmed, that the Use and Worship of Images had been approved and confirmed by them all. Had any thing at all been said of them, had they been but once mentioned in any of those Councils, the Pope would, as we may well imagine, for his own Justification, have produced the Canon or Passage, in which they were mentioned, instead of alleging so silly a Reason for their not being mentioned. The Advocates for Images pretended, from the Beginning, to have all the Councils, and the Fathers, on their Side; and, out of the Fathers indeed, they quoted several Passages, which I shall have occasion to examine hereafter; but, out of the Councils, they could never quote one, besides the Eighty-second Canon of the *Quinisext* Council; and by that Canon, though issued so late as the Year 692. it was only enacted, *that our Saviour might (or should) be thenceforth, not worshiped, but painted in the Figure of a Man* <sup>k</sup>. II. The Pope supposes Images to be, and to have ever been from the Beginning, as necessary for the Support and Life of the Soul, as Meat and Drink are for the Support and Life of the Body: A Doctrine repugnant to the present Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and of all her Divines to a Man. III. He ought to have alleged some Authority for the Bishops of the first Council of *Nice*, for Instance, carrying Images with them to that Council; for he could not but know, that the Emperor would not take it upon his Word, no more than he had taken upon his Word the boasted Approbation of the six General Councils.

Year of  
Christ 730.

The Emperor had said in his Letter, that it was incumbent upon him to reform the Abuses, that prevailed in the Church, as well as those, that prevailed in the State, since the Church was committed to his Care, as well as the State. In Answer to that, the Pope tells him, that it is his Duty to leave the Church, and follow her, such as he found her; that the Bishops *have the Mind of Christ* <sup>l</sup>, and not the Emperor; that the dull and stupid Understanding of a Soldier is not capable of judging of Dogma's, or Doctrines; that the Emperors ought no more to concern themselves with the Affairs of the Church, than the Bishops concerned themselves with those of the State; and that as the Bishops did not take upon them to dispose of civil Employments, so neither should the Emperors take upon them to dispose of

*He will not  
allow Princes  
to concern  
themselves  
with the Af-  
fairs of the  
Church.*

<sup>k</sup> See above, p. 152.

<sup>l</sup> 1 Corinth. c. ii. ver. ult.

Year of  
Christ 730.

His Chri-  
stian Prayer.

ecclesiastical Dignities, nor at all interfere in the Elections of the Clergy. He reproaches the Emperor with persecuting him unjustly, and tyrannically abusing the military Force, and the Power, which Heaven had been pleased to put into his Hands; and adds, that, as for himself, he is naked and unarmed, has no earthly Armies to oppose him; but prays Christ, who is above all the Armies of the heavenly Powers, to set the Devil upon him, *Invocamus Christum, ut immittat tibi demonem*. A very Christian Prayer, and worthy of the High Pontiff. He closes this, as he had done his former Letter, with acquainting the Emperor, that he is upon the point of setting out for the most distant Parts of the West, to baptize there some Converts of great Distinction; and praying God to open his Eyes, that he may see, and embrace again, the Truth, which he has so shamefully abandoned <sup>m</sup>.

The Pope as-  
sembles a  
Council at  
Rome.

Gregory, not satisfied with writing thus to the Emperor, or, to use the Expression of F. Pagi, with such *friendly Exhortations and Admonitions* <sup>n</sup>, assembled a Council at Rome, consisting of all the neighbouring Bishops; not to examine, whether it was lawful to worship Images, or not? but to declare, and define, that it was. Of this Council we have some Account in Pope Adrian's first Letter to Charlemagne; and there Gregory is said to have presided at it in Person, and to have opened it with a Speech proving from the Fathers, and the Scriptures, that Images ought not only to be retained, but adored. What Testimonies he alleged from the Fathers, Adrian has not thought fit to inform us; but tells us, that, from the Scriptures, he reasoned thus. *God commanded Moses to make two Cherubims, THOU SHALT MAKE TWO CHERUBIMS OF GOLD* <sup>o</sup>. SOLOMON MADE WITHIN THE ORACLE TWO CHERUBIMS OF OLIVE-TREES <sup>p</sup>, and he overlaid the Cherubims with Gold; and he carved all the Walls of the House round about with carved Figures of Cherubims, and Palm-trees <sup>q</sup>, &c. You see, my beloved Brethren, what MOSES did, what SOLOMON did, the wisest of Kings, by God's own Appointment, and express Command. And how much more ought we to worship and adore Christ our Lord, his holy Mother the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and all the Saints, by their sacred Effigies and Images? It is for the sake of the Word, who took Flesh for us, and for his sake alone, that

The Reasons  
be alleged  
from Scrip-  
ture, in fa-  
vour of  
Images.

<sup>†</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 726. p. 74. 77.  
<sup>•</sup> Exod. c. xxv. ver. 18.

<sup>n</sup> Pagi Breviar. Pont. Rom. p. 530.  
<sup>p</sup> 1 Kings, c. vi. ver. 23.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. ver. 29.

*we make and worship Images. If the Works of Mens Hands are all to be rejected, the Ark of the Covenant, and the Cherubims, ought not to have been admitted: But, if they were admitted, why should not other Images be so too, since they are all alike made for the Honour of God? By our Images many Miracles have been wrought, as well as by the Ark: They are, it is true, inanimate Things, and the Works of Mens Hands; and so were the Cherubims, and the Ark; but yet God operated, and was glorified by them.*

Year of  
Christ 739.

Thus Gregory; and his Argument, if put in due Form, will run thus: God commanded *Moses*, and *Solomon*, to make two Cherubims, or the Images of two Cherubims; *ergo* Christians ought not only to make, but to worship and adore, the Images of Christ, and the Saints. Such an Argument, if I may so call it, deserves no Answer; and I shall therefore only observe, that the Instance of the two Cherubims, far from authorizing the Worship, does not so much as authorize the Use or the Making of Images; nay, from the very Passages alleged by the Pope out of Scripture, we ought rather to conclude it unlawful to make any Images, than lawful to worship them; and argue thus; We are forbidden, by the second Commandment, to make any graven Images, or the Likeness of any thing in Heaven, or in the Earth; *ergo*, we ought to make no such Likenesses, unless we are, as *Moses* and as *Solomon* were, expressly commanded to make them. Thus *Tertullian* argued, and he was a better Logician than the Pope, in Answer to those, who alleged the Instance of the brazen Serpent against the general Prohibition, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image* \*. Had any of the Bishops, who were present at this Council, urged that Prohibition, and required the Pope to shew such a Command given to the Church, with respect to the Images of Christ, and the Saints, as was given to *Moses* and *Solomon* concerning the Cherubims, his Holiness would, I believe, have been greatly at a Loss how to satisfy him, and justify, notwithstanding so express a Prohibition, I will not say the Worshipping, but the very Making of Images: But no such impertinent Bishop assisted at this Council: They all acquiesced in the Reasoning of the Pope, however unlogical; and, concluding with him, that, if Images were commanded to be made under the Law, they ought not only to be made, but to be

His unlogical  
Method of  
Arguing.

\* Concil. Nic. A&C. 2.

† See above, p. 213.

worshipped;

Year of  
Christ 730.

But content-  
ed himself on-  
ly with ex-  
horting him  
to change his  
Opinion.

communicated, than the Excommunicating of the Patriarch? The same Historian, after acquainting us with the Sentence pronounced by the Pope against the Patriarch, continues thus; *He gave at the same time wholesome Advice to the Emperor, exhorting him by Letters to renounce so execrable a Doctrine*. And would he have written thus, had he known that the Pope had excommunicated the Emperor as well as the Patriarch, or rather had he not known, that the Pope did not excommunicate the Emperor, but contented himself only with exhorting him to change his Opinion, and his Conduct? And it is to be observed, that the Bibliothecarian wrote in *Rome*; that he copied what he wrote, as he himself witnesses, from the authentic Records lodged in the Archives of the *Roman Church*, and committed to his Care; and consequently that he must have been better informed of all that passed in this famous Dispute, than *Theophanes*, who wrote at *Constantinople*, and had no such Helps. *Paulus Diaconus*, who flourished scarce fifty Years after the Pontificate of *Gregory*, and relates the most material Incidents of those unhappy Times, takes no more Notice of the pretended Excommunication than the Bibliothecarian; nor indeed does any other *Latin* Writer whatever. And did they all agree, tho' they wrote at different Times, and in different Places, to pass it over in Silence? Or was it unknown to them? If it was, it is the first, and I believe the only Instance of a Fact known where it did not happen, and utterly unknown where it did.

He stirs up  
the People  
against the  
Emperor, and  
forbids any  
Tribute to be  
paid to him:

As to *Gregory's* forbidding the People of *Italy* to pay thenceforth any Tribute to the Emperor, or obey him, and depriving him, by that means, of Part of his Dominions; it is certain, as appears from what already has been said, that he stirred up the People of *Italy* to rebel, and encouraged them in their Rebellion. But are we to conclude from thence, with *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*, that he had a Right, or was impowered by his *Apostolic Authority* so to do; and that the Popes, in general, are impowered by the same Authority, in similar Cases, that is, in Cases of Heresy, or what they think Heresy, to arm Subjects against their Sovereigns, to forbid them to *render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's*<sup>f</sup>, or *Tribute to whom Tribute is due*; and deprive, by that means, lawful Princes of their just Rights and Dominions? And why should we not, upon finding a Pope guilty of Murder or Adultery (and we

\* Anast. in Greg. II.

<sup>f</sup> Matth. xxii. ver. 21.

*rai*<sup>a</sup>, &c. Gregory, says *Bellarmino*, having excommunicated Leo, <sup>Year of</sup> *ordered that no Tribute should be thenceforth paid to him by his* <sup>Christ 730.</sup> *Subjects in Italy; and thus deprived him of that Part of the Empire; nay, and if some Authors are to be credited, of the whole Empire*<sup>b</sup>. From thence he concludes, that the Pope is vested with a temporal as well as a spiritual Power over all Kingdoms and Empires; and consequently that he may in many Cases, more especially in Cases of Heresy, pull down both Kings and Emperors from their Thrones, and set others up in their room; obliging the People, by his Apostolic Authority, to swear Allegiance to those, whom he has been pleased to set up, and renounce their Allegiance to those, whom he has been pleased to pull down<sup>c</sup>.

But in the first Place; as to *Gregory's* excommunicating the Em- <sup>He did not</sup> peror, I cannot help questioning the Fact. It is indeed attested, as <sup>excommuni-</sup> *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* have observed, by *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, and the Greek Historians in general. But, on the other hand, the *Latin* Historians are all silent about it, even those, who have given us the minutest Accounts of the present Dispute between the Pope and the Emperor. Now to me it appears far more probable, that the *Greek* Historians (or rather that *Theophanes*, for of him all the rest borrowed what they relate), who lived at a great Distance from *Rome*, should have been misinformed, than that the *Latin* Historians, who lived in *Italy*, nay, and in *Rome*, should have been either utterly unacquainted with so remarkable a Transaction, or, being acquainted with it, should have all passed it over in Silence. In the Life of *Gregory*, the Bibliothecarian has taken care to let us know, that the holy Pontiff, exerting his Authority, declared the Patriarch *Anastasius* excommunicated, divested of the Priesthood, and degraded, if, renouncing his Heresy, he did not return to the Catholic Faith<sup>d</sup>. And is it at all probable, that if the Pontiff had exerted his Authority in excommunicating the Emperor, as well as the Patriarch, the Bibliothecarian would not have acquainted us with it? Could he have known, that the Pope excommunicated the Patriarch, and not have known, that he excommunicated the Emperor? Or did he think the Excommunicating of the Emperor an Event less worthy of Notice, or less worthy of a Place in the History of the Pope, by whom he was ex-

<sup>a</sup> Mez. l. 8. p. 326.  
Greg. II.

<sup>b</sup> Bellar. ubi supra.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Anast in.

Year of  
Christ 730.

*was he happily raised, not by Arms, Armies, or Intrigues, but by the free Choice and Affection of the People, to the Station and Rank of a Prince*<sup>i</sup>. That is, in other Words; the *Romans* rebelled against their lawful Sovereign; offered the Sovereignty to their Bishop and Fellow-Subject the Pope; he (ill imitating our Saviour, who fled from the Multitude when they would have made him a King<sup>k</sup>) accepted the Offer; and thus was the Priest, not by Arms, or by Arms, but by the Rebellion of his Fellow-Subjects and his own, happily raised to the State and Rank of a Prince. If that was not a bare-faced Usurpation, if the Pope was not, according to that Account, an Usurper, I should be glad to know the Meaning of these Terms. But that the Popes did not commence Princes in the time of *Gregory*; that his two immediate Successors acknowledged *Leo*, and his Son *Constantine*, for their lawful Sovereigns, and Lords of *Rome*; that the temporal Dominion of the *Roman See* had its Rise not in *Rome*, nor in the Dukedom of that City, but in the Exarchate, and the *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d'Ancona*, will undeniably appear in the Sequel of this History: And it is quite surprising, that *Gianettasius* should have been thus grossly mistaken with respect to Facts, which none can be unacquainted with, who have but dipt into the Writings of those Times.

The Emperor  
confiscates the  
Patrimonies  
of the Ro-  
man Church,  
and subjects  
East Illyri-  
cum to the  
See of Con-  
stantinople.

The Emperor was soon informed of what had passed at *Rome*; and being highly provoked at the Arrogance and Presumption of the Pope, in writing to him in the manner we have seen, but still more at his establishing in a Council the Superstition, which he was taking so much Pains to abolish, he seized on the rich Patrimonies of the *Roman Church* in *Sicily* and *Calabria*; and at the same time, to prevent the Popes from introducing the same Superstition into the Provinces of *East Illyricum*, which were then subject to the See of *Rome*, and had been subject to it ever since the time of *Damasus*<sup>l</sup>, he dismembered them from the *Roman Patriarchate*, and subjected them, with *Sicily* and *Calabria*, to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. This was wounding the Pope in the most tender and sensible Part; and the Successors of *Gregory* left nothing unattempted to prevail on the succeeding Emperors to restore what they said *Leo* had unjustly taken from them. Pope *Nicholas I.* even pretended, in a Letter which he wrote

<sup>i</sup> Gianet. Hist. Neap. l. 5. p. 94.

<sup>k</sup> John c. vi. ver. 15.

<sup>l</sup> See Vol. I.

on that Subject to the Emperor *Michael*, that the Archbishops of *Syracuse* had been all ordained by his Predecessors, ever since the times of the Apostles. Indeed the Island of *Sicily*, and consequently the City of *Syracuse*, had been immediately subject, as well as *Calabria*, to the See of *Rome*, not since the Times of the Apostles, but ever since the Establishing of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*<sup>m</sup>. But as to *East Illyricum*, it appearing, on Occasion of the Claim which the Popes laid to those Provinces, in order to recover them, that they did not originally belong to their See; that the Jurisdiction which they had so long exercised over them, was usurped by Pope *Damasus*; and that the Bishops of *Constantinople* had frequently protested against it; none of the Emperors, to whom the Popes applied, could ever be persuaded to hearken to their Demands with respect to *Illyricum*, tho' some of them shewed themselves inclined to re-annex (which they never did) *Sicily* and *Calabria* to the *Roman Patriarchate*<sup>n</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 730.

Thus was the Power of the Popes greatly curtailed, and the Revenues of their Church considerably lessened. Indeed the Emperor, whose Authority was now quite precarious in *Italy*, had no other means of wreaking his just Vengeance on one, who, presuming on the Zeal which his Fellow-Rebels shewed for his Safety, had in a most arrogant and insulting manner, 'bid him open Defiance, and told him, that he needed only retire but a few Miles from *Rome* to be out of his Reach, and laugh at his Menaces.

And here I cannot help observing the unpardonable Partiality of *Theophanes*, and the other Historians of those Times, whose Works have been suffered to reach ours, in charging the Emperor, as they do, with Tyranny, in thus depriving the Pope of a Jurisdiction, which his Predecessors had so long enjoyed, and withholding the Revenues that were due to *St. Peter*, when the Pope had, according to them, deprived the Emperor of a great Part of his Dominions, and withheld his Subjects from paying him any Tribute. Had the Pope a better Right to the Provinces of *Illyricum*, than the Emperor had to the Provinces of *Italy*? or *St. Peter* a better Right to the Revenues of the confiscated Patrimonies, than *Leo* had (and would have had, according to the Doctrine of the Gospel, had he even been a Pagan, or an Atheist) to the Tri-

The unpardonable Partiality of the Historians of those Times.

<sup>m</sup> See Vol. I. p. 106.

<sup>n</sup> Epist. Adriani Papæ ad Carol. Mag. et Nicol. I. ad Michael. Imp. Vid. Allat. l. 2. de perpet. Conf. Eccles. Occident. et Orient. c. 1.

bute,



Year of  
Christ 730.

bute, that was paid to him by his Subjects? An impartial Historian would have rather commended *Leo* for his Christian Moderation and Temper, in forbearing so long to resent the insolent Behaviour of the Pope, than charged him with Tyranny for resenting it at last in the manner he did.

Gregory  
dies.  
Year of  
Christ 732.

In the Beginning of the following Year died *Gregory*; and his Death happened, according to *Anastasius*, on the 20th of *February* 732. after he had governed the *Roman* Church from the 19th of *May* 705. when he was ordained, to that time; that is, fifteen Years, eight Months, and twenty-three Days°. I need say nothing of his Character, it being sufficiently manifest from what has already been said, that he was of all the Popes, who had yet sat in the Chair, the most assuming and arrogant. Other Popes had quarreled with the Emperors as well as he: But he was the first, to use the Expression of *Baronius*, *who left the worthy Example to Posterity, that heretical Princes should not be suffered to reign*; in other Words, that Subjects may lawfully rebel against their Princes, as *Gregory* rebelled against *Leo*, if they presume to countenance Doctrines, which the Pope has thought fit to condemn as heretical. So worthy an Example has procured him a Place in the Kalendar; and he is now honoured as a Saint for *having maintained* (not by Reasons and Arguments, but by Rebellion and Treason) *the Worship of Images, against the wicked and Iconoclast Emperor Leo* P (A).

*Gregory*

° Anast. in Greg. II.

P Martyr. Roman. 13 Febr.

(A) *Anastasius* confirms the Sanctity of *Gregory* with the following Account. *Eudo*, Duke of *Aquitain*, finding that the *Saracens*, at this time Masters of the far greater Part of *Spain*, were preparing to break into his Territories, sent to *Rome* to crave the Pope's Blessing, before he engaged in so perilous a War. The Pope, not satisfied with sending him his Blessing, sent him along with it three Sponges, that served to wipe his Holiness's Table, Sponges being, it seems, still used, as they were in *Martial's* (1) time, for that Purpose. These Sponges *Eudo* caused to be divided among, and eaten by, his Soldiers; who, finding themselves thereby delivered at once from

all Apprehensions of Danger, and sure of Victory, fell on the Enemy, threw them, at the first Onset, into the utmost Confusion, and killed 375,000 of them on the Spot, with the Loss of 1,500 Men only on their Side; and among these there was not a Man, nor indeed among the wounded, who had had the least Share of the Sponges (2). Of this Victory, and the Sponges, to which it was said to be owing, mention is likewise made by *Frodoard* (3). But to wave the Objections, that might be reasonably made to the Probability of the Fact itself; History tells us of several no less remarkable Victories gained, under the greatest Disadvantages, and without

(1) Mar. l. 14. Epigr. 149.  
Pont. Rom. in Greg. II.

(2) Anast. in Greg. II.

(3) Frod. de

## Gregory III. BISHOPS of Rome.

295

*Gregory* is said to have repaired, embellished, and endowed several Churches and Monasteries, and among the rest the famous Monastery of *Monte Casino*, which had been plundered and laid in Ashes by *Zoto*, first Duke of *Benevento*, 130 Years before, and had, ever since that time, been abandoned by the Monks <sup>Year of Christ 732.</sup>

LEO ISAURICUS,  
CONSTANTINE.

## GREGORY III.

LUITPRAND,  
King of the Lombards.

### *Eighty-ninth* BISHOP of Rome.

**G**REGORY II. was succeeded by *Gregory III.* of that Name, <sup>Gregory III. chosen.</sup> Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, a Native of *Syria*, and the Son of one *John*. He was chosen by the whole *Roman* People, says *Anastasius*, who, being moved by a sudden Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, took him by Force, while he was assisting at the Obsequies of his deceased Predecessor, and placed him in the Chair. However, he was not ordained till the 18th of *March*, when the Decree of his Election, confirmed by the Exarch, was brought back from *Ravenna* to *Rome*: And he was the last, whose Election the Exarchs confirmed. He had no sooner taken Possession of the See, <sup>Declares for the Worship of Images, and sends a Legation to Constantinople.</sup> than, treading in the Footsteps of his Predecessor, and loudly declaring for the Worship of Images, he wrote to the Emperors *Leo*, and his Son *Constantine* (for *Leo* had taken *Constantine* for his Partner in the Empire ever since the Year 720.), exhorting them, says *Anastasius*, with all the Vigour and Energy of the Apostolic See, to renounce the Error, which they had unadvisedly espoused, and return, like dutiful Children, to the Bosom of their Mother the Catholic Church. With this Letter was dispatched to *Constantinople* *Gregory*, Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, named to that Legation by the Pope, as a Man on whose Knowledge, Firmness, and Zeal, he could entirely depend. But the Presbyter had no Vocation to be either a Martyr, or a Confessor; and therefore finding, on his Ar-

1 Anast. in Greg. II.

2 Anast. in Greg. III.

3 Idem. ibid.

the Help of any Reliques, by Men, who were persuaded they should conquer before they engaged. And to that Persuasion the present Victory ought rather to be ascribed, than to any extraordinary Virtue in the Sponges, or the Blessing of *Gregory*.

rival

Year of  
Christ 732.

rival in the Imperial City, that both Emperors were unalterably determined to extirpate the new Superstition (for so was called at *Constantinople* what was stiled at *Rome* the antient and primitive Doctrine of the Catholic Church); and spared none, who, in Opposition to their Edicts, presumed to defend it; he thought it advisable, as Matters then stood, to check his Zeal, and reserve it till an Opportunity offered of exerting it with better Success than he could promise him-

The cowardly  
Behaviour of  
the Legate.

self from it at present. He left *Constantinople* accordingly, and, with the Pope's Letter, returned in great haste to *Rome*, without so much as acquainting the Emperors, or any of their Ministers, with his Arrival. His Return to *Rome* was quite unexpected; and the Pope, provoked beyond measure at so cowardly a Behaviour in a Legate of the Apostolic See, who ought to have joyfully laid down his Life in so good a Cause, immediately summoned a Council to deliberate, with his Clergy, and the neighbouring Bishops, what Punishment he should inflict on one, who had thus betrayed the Cause of God, and his Church; and, what was worse, disgraced, by a criminal Pusillanimity, the Character of a Legate from the See of St. *Peter*. The Pope was for deposing the unhappy Presbyter; but the other Members of the Council, as well as the Nobility, all interposing in his Favour, and he himself acknowledging his Crime, and offering to atone for it in what manner soever his Holiness and the Council should judge proper, the Anger of the Pope was somewhat asswaged; and by all it was agreed, that he should return with the same Letter to *Constantinople*, and deliver it into the Emperor's own Hands. With this Resolution *Gregory* chearfully complied; and he set out a second time for the Imperial City, which however he never reached: For, landing in *Sicily*, he was stopt there by the Officers of the Emperor, the Letter was taken from him, and he, by an Order from the Imperial Court, sent into Exile. Such was the Issue of the first Legation of the new Pope.

Is arrested in  
Sicily, and  
sent into  
Exile.

Deputies  
from Boni-  
face come to  
Rome, to  
consult the  
Pope in his  
Name.

In the mean time arrived at *Rome* Deputies sent by *Boniface*, the Apostle of *Germany*, to promise, in his Name, all Subjection and Obedience to the new Pope, to acquaint him with the extraordinary Success of his Mission, and have several Doubts or Difficulties solved by him, *Boniface* chusing to be guided by his Judgment, rather than his own. *Gregory* received the Deputies with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem; and sent by them, on their Return to *Ger-*

many, a Pall for *Boniface*, to be used by him only in performing divine Service, or consecrating a new Bishop. By the same Legate's he wrote to *Boniface*, answered his Doubts, and gave him some particular Instructions concerning the Erecting of new Bishopricks. The Direction of the Letter was, *To the most reverend, and most holy Brother, and Fellow-Bishop Boniface, sent by this Apostolic See, to give Light to the Nations of Germany, and to the Nations round about, that sit in Darkness, and in the Shadow of Death.* One of *Boniface's* Doubts was, whether they, who had been baptized by Pagans, or by Priests, who had sacrificed to *Jupiter*, or eaten Meats offered to Idols, should be rebaptized, or not? And the Pope answered, *The Pope declares Baptism administered by whomsoever administered; and consequently not to be reiterated, provided the Intention be not wanting, without a Sacrilege.* What *Baronius* says here, to excuse the Pope, is scarce worthy of Notice; viz. That he only declared Baptism to be null, when administered by a Pagan, or a Priest, who had sacrificed to *Jupiter*, if they did not administer it in the Name of the Trinity; as if the Apostle of *Germany* had been so ignorant as not to have known, without consulting the Pope, that Baptism was null, by whomsoever administered, if it was not administered in the Name of the Trinity: That he certainly knew; and therefore could only have doubted, whether Baptism, administered in due Form by an Apostate Priest, or a Pagan, was valid, or not; and that Doubt the Pope resolved in the manner we have seen. In the same Letter *Gregory* forbids the Eating of Horse-flesh, and requires *Boniface* to impose severe Penances on all, who eat it, *because it is unclean*; not remembring the Saying of our Saviour, *Not that, which goeth into the Mouth, defileth the Soul*; nor the Doctrine of *St. Paul*, agreeing therewith, *that, under the Gospel, there is nothing unclean of itself*. In the remaining Part of the Letter, the Pope forbids Marriages among Relations to the seventh Generation; excludes Parricides from the Eucharist, except at the Point of Death, injoining them to abstain, so long as they live, from Flesh, and from Wine, and to fast three Days in the Week; imposes the same Penance on such as sold their Slaves to be immolated by the Pagans, the barbarous Custom of immolating Slaves still ob-

Year of  
Christ 732.

*The Pope declares Baptism administered by Pagans, &c. to be null; which is now rank Heresy.*

\* See Vol. I. p. 96. Note A.  
c. xv. ver. 11.

\* Bar. ad Ann. 731. p. 104.  
y Ad Rom. c. xiv. ver. 14.

\* Matth.

Year of  
Christ 733. Legates into the East, nor did he henceforth concern himself at all with the Affairs of those Churches.

Fleet sent  
against the  
Pope, and the  
other Rebels  
in Italy. In the mean time the Emperor, on the one hand highly provoked against the People of *Italy*, and most of all against the Pope and the *Romans*, and determined on the other to restore, at all Events, the Christian Worship to its primitive Purity in the West, as well as in the East, caused a mighty Fleet to be equipped, in order to bring the Pope and the other Rebels back to their Duty, and oblige them to renounce their Idolatry, and comply with his Edict. The Fleet put to Sea in the Spring of the present Year, under the Command of *Manes*,

Which is  
wrecked.

one of the most experienced Officers in the whole Empire; but, a violent Storm arising as they entered the *Adriatic* Gulph, most of the Ships were either swallowed up by the Waves, or dashed to Pieces against the Shore; insomuch that the whole Coast of *Calabria*, as well as the Sea between *Italy* and *Epirus*, was covered with the Wreck<sup>e</sup>. From this time the Emperor concerned himself no more with the Affairs of the West, than the Pope concerned himself with those of the East. The Exarch continued still to reside at *Ravenna*; but was not in a Condition to cause the Imperial Edict against Images to be observed even in that City, and much less to undertake any thing against the Pope, or the *Romans*: For the People of *Rome*, having, at the Instigation of the Pope, withdrawn themselves from all Subjection to the Emperor, were governed, at this time, by their own Magistrates, or by Magistrates, whom they had appointed by their own Authority; and they formed a kind of Republic under the Pope, not yet as their Prince, but only as their Head.

Rome, at  
this time, a  
kind of Re-  
public.

Boniface  
comes the  
third time to  
Rome.

Year of  
Christ 738.

We hear no more of *Gregory* till the Year 738. when he received at *Rome* *Boniface*, the Apostle of *Germany*, come to consult him about the Government of the Churches he had founded, and to visit, for the third time, the Tombs of the Apostles. The Pope received and entertained him, during his Stay in that City, with the greatest Friendship and Kindness; and loaded him, at his Departure, with Reliques, to establish, by his means, in *Germany*, the Superstition, which the Emperor was striving to abolish in the Empire. On this Occasion the Pope wrote three Letters; viz. one to all Bishops, Abbots, and Presbyters; another to the Christians in *Germany*, converted by *Boniface*; and the third to the Bishops of *Bavaria*, and *Germany*. The Purport

<sup>e</sup> Theoph. ad Ann. Leon. 17.

of these Letters was to recommend *Boniface*, and exhort those, to whom they were addressed, to hearken to his Instructions, and obey him as Legate of the Apostolic See <sup>f.</sup> *Boniface*, on his Return to *Bavaria* divided *Bavaria* into four Dioceses, or Bishopricks; *viz.* of *Saltzburg*, *Freisinghen*, *Ratisbone*, and *Passaw*; and that Division the Pope approved and confirmed by a Letter dated the 29th of *October* 739 s. <sup>Year of Christ 738. *Bavaria divided into four Dioceses.* Year of Christ 739.</sup>

But to return to the Affairs of *Italy*; the Pope and the *Romans* had enjoyed, ever since the Loss of the Imperial Fleet in 734. a profound Peace and Tranquillity, without the least Apprehension of any further Attempts being made by the Emperor towards reducing them, or obliging them to comply with his Edict. But, in the Year 740. the Peace, which they had so long enjoyed, was greatly disturbed, and they found themselves unexpectedly involved in new Troubles on the following Occasion: The two Dukes of *Spoleti* and *Benevento*, who had revolted a few Years before from *Luitprand*, and been by him generously forgiven, and even restored to their Dukedoms, having revolted anew, and, upon their being defeated by the King, taken Refuge in *Rome*, *Luitprand* sent to demand them of the Pope and the *Romans*, threatening to turn his Arms against them, if they did not deliver up the two Rebels, or at least drive them out of their City. *Gregory*, jealous, as his Predecessors ever had been, of the growing Power of the *Lombards*, had perhaps, as some have surmised, privately stirred up the Dukes to rebel, in order to keep the King, who was a Prince of an unbounded Ambition, of a most warlike and enterprising Genius, employed at home, and divert him, by that means, from attempting the Conquest of the Dukedom and City of *Rome*. However that be, the Pope took the Rebels into his Protection; nor could he, by any means, be prevailed upon to deliver them up, or oblige them to withdraw from the City. *Luitprand* therefore, highly provoked, and perhaps only wanting a plausible Pretence to invade the *Roman* Territories, and make himself Master of *Rome*, drew his Forces together; put himself at their Head; and, entering the *Roman* Dukedom in a hostile manner, possessed himself there of four Cities; *viz.* *Ameria*, *Hortas*, *Polimartium*, and *Blera*. Upon his Retreat (for, the Season being this Year uncommonly hot, he retired in the

<sup>f</sup> Othlon. in Vit. Bonifac. l. 1. c. 28. vide Bar. ad Ann. 738. p. 120. et seq.  
<sup>g</sup> Willibald. in Vit. Bonif. c. 3. et Othlon. ibid. c. 31.

Year of  
Christ 740.

Beginning of *August* with his Army to *Pavia*), *Thrasimund*, Duke of *Spoleti*, quitting his Asylum, took the Field, and, with the Assistance of the *Romans*, who readily joined him, recovered, in a very short time, most of the Cities of his Dukedom, and, among the rest, the Capital itself.

And Rome  
besieged.

Year of  
Christ 741.

War being thus declared between the *Romans* and *Luitprand*, and Hostilities begun on both Sides, the King assembled his Forces early in the Spring, and, marching with them strait to *Rome*, laid waste the whole neighbouring Country; gave up even the Church of *St. Peter*, that stood without the Walls, to be plundered by his Men; and laid close Siege to the City. The Consternation, which the Approach of

The Pope,  
and the Ro-  
mans, in the  
utmost Di-  
stress.

so formidable an Enemy occasioned in *Rome*, can hardly be expressed. The *Romans* well knew, that they could not hold out long unassisted, against the whole Strength of the Kingdom of the *Lombards*; and were, at the same time, entirely at a Loss to whom they should apply for Assistance. The Emperor was no less provoked against them, and more justly, than the King; and his Resentment they dreaded more than the King's. The *Venetians*, though already a respectable Republic, and greatly attached to the Pope, were not however yet able to match the warlike Nation of the *Lombards*. As for *Spain*, it was at this time over-run, most miserably harassed, and almost intirely possessed by the *Saracens*. The *French* therefore were the only Nation at this time capable of assisting the Pope and the *Romans*, and effectually rescuing them out of the imminent Danger they were in of being obliged to submit to the Yoke of the *Lombards*, which the Popes had of all Things ever most dreaded. The *French* had been now governed twenty-six Years by the celebrated *Charles Martel*, who, contenting himself with the Title of Mayor of the Palace, ruled the Kingdom with an absolute Sway. He had signalized himself by a thousand warlike Exploits in *France*, and in *Germany*; had gained a few Years before, a most remarkable Victory over the *Saracens* in the Neighbourhood of *Tours*; and was, at this Time, universally reputed the best Commander, and the Hero of the Age.

The Pope re-  
solves to ap-  
ply to Charles  
Martel.

To him therefore the Pope resolved to apply in his present Distress; and that Resolution he had no sooner taken, than he sent, without Loss of time, and indeed no time was to be lost, a solemn Legation

<sup>i</sup> Anast. in Greg. III. Continuat. Fredegar. c. 110.

by Sea into *France*, with the Keys of the Tomb of *St. Peter*, at this time in great Request, with some small Pieces or Filings of the Chain, with which the Apostle was supposed to have been bound while Prisoner in *Rome*, and many other valuable Presents, probably of the same kind, *cum magnis et infinitis muneribus*, says the Historian<sup>k</sup>. These very valuable Presents the two Legates, *Anastasius* Bishop, and *Sergius* Presbyter, were to deliver to *Charles*, and, laying before him the deplorable Condition, to which his Holiness was reduced, earnestly entreat him, in the Name of *St. Peter*, to undertake the Protection of that Apostle, of his Church, and his People, against the wicked Nation of the *Lombards*, by whom they were most cruelly harassed and oppressed. *Charles* received the Legates with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem; made them many valuable Presents in his Turn, more valuable than those he had received; and entertained them, so long as they continued at his Court, with all the Splendor and Magnificence of a great Prince. But he lived at this time, and ever had, in great Friendship and Amity with the King of the *Lombards*; had been powerfully assisted by him, even in Person, against the *Saracens*, and the Rebels of *Provence*; and he thought the Bonds of Friendship and Gratitude too sacred to be broken, at the Request of the Pope himself, without the greatest Provocation. Besides, he well knew, that *Luitprand*, his Friend and Ally, was justly provoked against the Pope and the *Romans*, since they had not only harboured and protected, but openly joined his rebel Vassals, and, in defiance of him, restored one of them, the Duke of *Spoleti*, to his forfeited Dukedom. Upon these Considerations, *Charles* withstood all the Sollicitations of the Legates, determined not to break with the King, but suffer him to pursue his just Revenge. Of this the Legates gave immediate Notice to the Pope, who thereupon, trusting more to his own Eloquence than to that of his Legates, wrote the following Letter to *Charles*, and dispatched, in all Haste, a Messenger with it into *France*.

Year of  
Christ 741.

Sends a solemn Legation into France.

*Charles declines assisting the Pope against the King of the Lombards.*

Pope Gregory to his most excellent Son *Charles*, Viceroy, CA. The Pope's  
ROLO SUBREGULO. *We are overwhelmed with Grief, and Tears stream Night and Day from our Eyes, in beholding the holy Church of God (himself and the rebellious Populace of Rome) abandoned by all her Children, even by those, in whom she had most Reason to confide. Can we see without Sighs and Groans, without the deepest*

<sup>k</sup> Continuat. Fredegar. ibid.



141. *The History of the POPEs, or Gregory III.*  
Concern and Affliction, the little that remained, after the last Year's  
Devastations, in the Territories of Ravenna, for the Support of the  
Poor, and the necessary Charge of the Lights in the Church of  
St. Peter, now entirely destroyed with Fire and Sword by Luitprand  
and Hildebrand, Kings of the Lombards? There would not have  
been wanting wherewithal to support the Poor, notwithstanding all  
these Devastations, and even to defray the unnecessary Expence of  
the Lights, had the Pope been less extravagant, and not squandered  
away, as he did, the Treasure of his Church on Statues and Pictures.  
They have pursued, continues the Pope, and at this very time still  
pursue the like Ravages in the Neighbourhood of Rome, whither  
they have sent Armies, that lay the whole Country waste, that burn  
and destroy all the Houses belonging to St. Peter, after having  
stripped them of every thing they found in them. In the midst of  
these Tribulations we have recurred to you, our most excellent Son;  
but have yet received no Comfort or Relief from you. But we are  
not unapprised why you suffer these Kings to insult thus with Im-  
punity. You give more Credit to their lying Suggestions, than to  
the Truths that are told you by us; and I fear you will, on that  
score, be one Day found guilty. O could you but hear the insult-  
ing and reproachful Language, with which they revile us, or ra-  
ther you! Where is that mighty Charles, say they, whose Pro-  
tection you have implored? Where those formidable French Ar-  
mies? Let them come, and deliver you, if they dare, out of our  
Hands. What Grief pierces my Heart in hearing such Reproaches,  
and finding that none of the Children of the holy Church stir to  
defend their spiritual Mother, and her peculiar People! (viz. the  
Mob of Rome). My dear Son, St. Peter is able, by the Power which  
God has granted him, to defend his own House and his People,  
and to revenge them on all their Enemies without the Assistance  
of any mortal Man; and it is only to know who are his true Childr.n,  
and to try their Zeal, that he permits them to be thus oppressed.  
Suffer not yourself, my dear Son, to be imposed upon by the crafty  
and false Suggestions of the Lombard Kings. They loudly com-  
plain of the Dukes of Spoleti and Benevento; they charge them  
with high Treason and Rebellion. But this is all a bare-faced Lye.  
They would not last Year join the Kings against us; they would not,  
in Conjunction with them, lay waste, burn, and destroy the Goods of  
the holy Apostles, nor make War on the Church of God, and his pe-  
culiar

of  
Christ 741.

dit to them than to the Pope. Indeed the Historians of those times, all to a Man, tell us, that the two Dukes rebelled a second time, that they took Refuge in *Rome*, and that it was because the Pope and the *Romans* refused to deliver them up, that *Luitprand* broke into the *Roman* Territories, and committed the Ravages, which the Pope complains of in his Letter. Be that as it will, the Letter of the Pope made no Impression upon *Charles*; he continued firm in the Resolution, which, it seems, he had taken not to concern himself at all in the Quarrel between the *Romans* and the *Lombards*.

Nor a second, which he wrote soon after.

The Pope, however, wrote a second Letter to him, filled with new Complaints against the *Lombards*, who had, it seems, retired from before *Rome*; but committed most dreadful Ravages in the Neighbourhood, and on the Lands of the *Roman* Church in *Campania*, being chiefly provoked against the Pope, by whose Counsels they knew the *Romans* were entirely governed. In that Letter the Pope omitted nothing he could think of to provoke *Charles* against the *Lombards*, telling him, that they had not only pillaged the Lands, but the Church of *St. Peter*; that they had sacrilegiously seized and carried off the many valuable Gifts, which his Ancestors had offered to that Apostle; that they now raged with more Cruelty than ever, for no other Reason, but because the People of *Rome* had applied to him in their Distress, and in him had placed their Confidence, as if he were able to rescue them out of their Hands, &c. With this Letter, tho' perhaps more moving and pathetic than the former, *Charles* was no more affected than he was with the former; and he still kept to the Resolution he had taken, not to break with the *Lombard* Kings.

He sends a second Legation into France.

But the Pope did not yet despair of being able to gain him. He found that pious Motives were of no Weight with him; that he made but little or no Account of the Favour or Protection of the Prince of the Apostles, and the great Reward which he was to receive hereafter for protecting his peculiar People, and his Church. *Gregory* therefore, to leave nothing unattempted, resolved to recur to Motives of a different Nature, and try whether he might not be attended with better Success by applying to his Ambition, than he had hitherto been by applying to his Piety and Devotion. He sent accordingly a second Legation into *France*, no less solemn than the first, with Proposals, which he knew would be acceptable to *Charles*, as they flattered his Ambition, and would incline him, if any

any thing could, to undertake his Defence, and the Defence of the *Roman* Church and the *Romans*. The Proposals were, that the Pope and the *Roman* People should solemnly renounce their Allegiance to the Emperor, as an avowed Heretic and Persecutor of the Church; that they should put themselves under the Protection of *Charles*, acknowledge him for their Protector, and confer on him the Consular Dignity, as it had been formerly (in 508.) conferred by the Emperor *Anastasius* on *Clovis* the first Christian King of *France*, after he had defeated the *Visigoths*, and killed their King: On the other hand, *Charles* was to engage, on his Side, to defend and protect the Pope, the *Roman* Church, and the People of *Rome*, against the *Lombards*; and likewise against the Emperor, should they by either be attacked or molested. These treasonable Proposals were well received and readily agreed to by *Charles*, resolved, no doubt, to improve to his Advantage the Authority which the Title of Protector, and the Consular Dignity, would give him in *Rome*. He had therefore no sooner dismissed the Legates, whom he loaded with rich Presents at their Departure, than he dispatched *Grimon* Abbot of *Corbie*, and *Sigebert* Monk of *St. Denys*, to *Rome* to confirm the Treaty, and take, in his Name, the Pope and the *Roman* People into his Protection. As soon after their Arrival in that City, the *Lombard* Kings put an End to all Hostilities, withdrew their Troops out of the *Roman* Dukedom, and retired to their own Dominions; it is generally taken for granted, tho' not expressly affirmed by any ancient Writer, that *Charles* threatened them with War by his Embassadors, if they did not return. They kept, however, the four Cities belonging to the *Roman* Dukedom, which they had taken the Year before <sup>a</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 741.

Proposals  
made by the  
Pope.

*Charles*  
bears to  
them, and a  
Treaty con-  
cluded be-  
tween him  
and the Pope.

The *Lom-  
bards* with-  
draw their  
Troops out of  
the Duke-  
dom of  
Rome.

The Pope did not live to reap the Fruit of his Treason. He died, and so did *Charles*, soon after the Conclusion of the above-mentioned Treaty. *Charles* died on the 22d of *October* of the present Year, and the Pope on the 27th of *November*, having governed the *Roman* Church ten Years, eight Months, and eleven Days. The Zeal, which he exerted in the Defence of Images and Image-worship, has, however treasonable, procured him a Place in the *Kalendar*; and he is now honoured as a Saint of the first Rate. He is said to have been a Man, in those Days, of uncommon Learning:

<sup>a</sup> Anast. in Greg. III. Continuat. Fredegar. c. 110. Annales Metenses ad Ann. 741.

Year of  
Christ 741.

His Wri-  
tings.

For he knew all the Psalms by Heart, which was then looked upon, says *Walfrid*, as a new thing, as a thing that had never before been heard of, *tanquam novum quiddam et inauditum*°. Indeed the Scripture was, at that time, a Book which very few, if any, were at all acquainted with, or concerned themselves about. *Gregory* wrote, as *Anastasius* informs us, three Books to prove the Lawfulness of Image-worship, which he addressed to the Emperors *Leo* and *Constantine*, and one Book of Letters. But none of these Pieces even reached the Time of *Anastasius*, who flourished about the Middle of the following Century; and I do not find them once quoted by any, who in those Days defended the same Cause; a plain Proof, that they were held in no great Esteem.

He sent a  
Pall to Eg-  
bert of York.

By this Pope a Pall was sent in 735. to *Egbert*, who was descended of the Royal Family of *Northumberland*, and had in 732. succeeded *Wilfrid* the younger in the See of *Tork*. As he was the first Bishop of *Tork* after *Paulinus*, whom the Popes had honoured with that Mark of Distinction, our Historians all tell us, that the Church of *Tork* was governed only by Bishops, from the time of *Paulinus* to that of *Egbert*, when *Tork*, they say, was restored, by the Pall sent from *Rome*, to its former Rank, or the Archiepiscopal Dignity<sup>p</sup>. But it is certain, that in the Time of *Gregory III.* the Pall was not yet looked upon, nor given as a Badge of the Metropolitan or Archiepiscopal Dignity; but only as an Acknowledgement of some extraordinary Merit in the Person, to whom it was given. The Historians, whom I have quoted above, flourished in Times, when the Pall was become a Badge of the Archiepiscopal Dignity, nay, and was thought to confer the Power and Authority annexed to that Dignity; and they spoke of the Transactions of the more ancient Times, according to the Notions that obtained in their own<sup>q</sup>. *Gregory* is said to have changed, some time before his Death, the Solemnity, which *Boniface IV.* had appointed to be kept on the 13th of *May*, in Honour of the Virgin *Mary* and all the Martyrs<sup>r</sup>, into that of *all Saints*, ordering it to be annually observed on the first of *November*<sup>s</sup>; and on the first of *November* it is observed to this Day.

° *Walfrid*. c. 25.

p *Malmesb. de Pontif.* l. 3. Hoved. ad Ann. 735. Continu-  
uat. Epit. Bed. ad eund. Ann.  
p. 2.

q *See above*, p. 6. Note C.

r *Anast. in Greg. III.*

s *See above*,

In the same Year 741. died the Emperor *Leo*, after he had reigned twenty-four Years, two Months, and twenty Days. During that Time he restored the decayed Military Discipline, defended the Empire with great Bravery against the Barbarians, entirely destroyed the Naval Power of the *Saracens*, and obliged that warlike, and till his time victorious People, who, in the Beginning of his Reign, had even had the Boldness to besiege him in his Capital, to court his Friendship, and sue for a Peace. He was, on the other hand, as appears from his whole Conduct, a Prince of great Temper, Moderation, and Clemency, of uncommon Penetration and Discernment, a strict Observer of the six preceding General Councils, with which he seems to have been better acquainted than most Men of his Time, and a most zealous Asserter of the Catholic Doctrine, as it was taught and practised in the primitive Ages. As for Vices, he was charged with none; but, on the contrary, commended by the Pope himself, Pope *Gregory II.* as the best of Princes, and said to have reigned without Blame<sup>†</sup>, till he published his Edict against Images; insomuch that had he either never concerned himself with Matters of Religion, or as zealously promoted, as he opposed the Superstitions, that began to prevail in his Time, it is not at all to be doubted but that he would have been ranked by the Writers of those Times amongst the greatest Princes, as well as the best, who had yet filled the Imperial Throne, and be now even honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Saint. But his Zeal for the Purity of the Christian Worship, and unrelenting Endeavours to suppress the superstitious Worship of Images, which he thought inconsistent with it, provoked the ignorant and bigotted Monks of those Days against him; and they have spared no Pains nor Lyes to blacken his Character, and represent him to Posterity as the most wicked of Men. But the many Fables invented by them for that Purpose, and gravely related by the more modern Historians, especially by *Baronius*, *Maimbourg*, and *Natalis Alexander*, have been all unanswerably confuted by the learned *Spanheim*<sup>‡</sup>; and to him I refer the Reader, only observing here, that tho' the Menology of the *Greeks* is filled with the Names both of Men and of Women, who are there said to have been put to most cruel Deaths for maintaining the Catholic Doctrine, that is, the Worship of Images,

Year of  
Christ 741.  
The Emperor  
Leo dies the  
same Year.

His Character.

<sup>†</sup> Concil. I. 7. p. 7. et apud Bar. ad Ann. 726. p. 66.  
Restitut. Sect. 2.

<sup>‡</sup> Spanh. Hist. Imag.

Year of  
Christ 741.

against the impious Iconoclast Emperor *Leo*, it does not appear from the more credible Historians of those Times, that a single Person suffered Death on that score, during the whole Time of that Emperor's Reign. Upon his Death his Son *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronymus* (A), whom he had taken for his Partner in the Empire ever since the Year 720. reigned alone. Of him, as he most zealously pursued the great Work, which his Father had begun, of extirpating Idolatry, and restoring the Christian Worship to its primitive Purity, we shall have frequent Occasion to speak in the Sequel.

(A) He was surnamed *Copronymus* from his having been said to have bewrayed the sacred Font at his Baptism. *Dum baptizaretur, dirum quiddam et fœdum parvulus Constantinus exhibuit argumentum, stercus emittens in sanctum lavacrum*, says the Author of the *Miscella*. He adds, that the holy Patriarch *Germanus*, who baptized him, alarmed at what had happened (at an Accident that was quite natural, and must have happened to many other Infants, as they were all baptized, agreeably to the Practice of the Eastern Church, by Immersion), prophetically declared, that the Child would one Day prove a great Enemy and Persecutor of the Church. But as neither of that Prediction, nor of the Accident, that is supposed to have given Occasion to it, the least Mention is made by *Theophanes*, the Patriarch *Nicephorus*, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anastasius*, tho' they all wrote long before the time of the Author of the *Miscella*; and were, as is manifest from their Writings, no less pre-

judiced against *Constantine* than the Compiler of that Work; we may well conclude the Whole to be a mere Invention, or one of the many Fables that were invented by the lying Monks, to revile the Memory of that excellent Prince, when the Worship of Images, which he had spared no Pains to suppress, was, by the second Council of *Nice*, universally established in the East. He was likewise surnamed *Caballinus*, probably from his being a great Lover of Horses; at least more probably from thence, than from his frequently covering his whole Body with their Dung, and obliging his Favourites to follow therein his Example, as by the later *Greeks* he is gravely said to have done, and after them by *Baronius* (2) and *Maimbourg* (3), not ashamed to adopt every absurd, ridiculous, and improbable Story, that the *Greeks* have invented to render the Memory of that Prince odious or contemptible to Posterity.

(2) Bar. ad Ann. 775. p. 336.  
p. 179.

(3) Maimb. Hist. des Iconoclast. l. 2.

CONSTANTINE. ZACHARY, LUITPRAND,  
HILDEBRAND,  
RACHIS, } *Kings of the Lombards.*

Year of  
Christ 741.

*Ninetieth* BISHOP of Rome.

GREGORY died on the 27th of *November*; and the third Zachary Day after his Death Zachary, a Native of *Greece*, and the Son <sup>chosen:</sup>

of one *Polychronius*, was chosen in his room<sup>w</sup>. From the Shortness of the Vacancy it is manifest, that the new Pope, knowing how precarious the Power of the Emperor was at this time in *Italy*, neither waited for the Confirmation of the Exarch, nor asked it:

And he was the first Pope thus chosen and ordained, without the <sup>And ordained before his Election was confirmed by the Exarch, or the Emperor.</sup> Approbation of the Prince, or his Ministers, ever since the Year 483. when *Odoacer*, then Master of *Italy*, issued his Edict (and he issued it at the Request of Pope *Simplicius* while on his Death-bed) forbidding the Pope to be thenceforth ordained, till his Election was confirmed by him, or by those, whom he should appoint to confirm it<sup>x</sup>. The Law of *Odoacer* was adopted by the *Gothic* Kings, his Successors in the Kingdom of *Italy*; and likewise by the Emperors, who, having driven out the *Goths*, took care to have it strictly observed, as we have seen, from the time they became again Masters of *Italy* to the present, when their Power being at a very low Ebb in the West, they were no longer able to curb the growing Power of the Popes, or restrain them from encroaching on the just Rights of their Crown.

*Zachary* was raised to the See in the most difficult Times the Popes had yet seen. The King of the *Lombards* had, at the Persuasion or Menaces of *Charles Martel*, withdrawn his Troops out of the Dukedom of *Rome*, as has been related above. But *Charles* being dead, he not only kept the four Cities he had taken, but was preparing to invade, with a numerous Army, that Dukedom anew, and attempt the Reduction of *Rome* itself. The *Romans*, who had openly revolted from their lawful Sovereign, and formed themselves into a kind of Republic, with the Pope at their Head, were not able to withstand so powerful an Enemy alone. On the other hand, the domestic Troubles, that reigned at this time in *France*, and the Re-

<sup>w</sup> Anast. in Zach.

<sup>x</sup> See Vol. II. p. 193.

Year of  
Christ 741.

Sends a so-  
lemn Lega-  
tion to the  
King of the  
Lombards:  
Year of  
Christ 742.

Who grants  
a Peace to the  
Romans:

But obliges  
them to join  
him against  
the Duke of  
Spoleti.

The Pope  
leaves Rome,  
and repairs to  
the King's  
Camp at  
Terni.

volt of the *German* Nations subject to that Crown, kept the Arms of *Carloman* and *Pepin*, the Sons of *Charles*, so wholly employed, that they could not pretend to undertake their Defence, agreeably to the Treaty lately concluded between *Gregory* III. and their Father; nor even to lend them the least Assistance in their present Distress. As for the Emperor, the Pope well knew, that he looked both upon him and the *Romans* as Traitors and Rebels; that he would rather join the *Lombards* against them, than join them against the *Lombards*; and was therefore no less afraid of him, than he was of the *Lombards* themselves. *Zachary*, finding himself and the *Romans* thus left to the Mercy of their Enemies, resolved to recur to Motives of Religion, since he had nothing else to recur to; and try whether he could not thus appease the Wrath of the provoked King, and divert him from his intended Expedition against the City and Dukedom of *Rome*. With that View he sent a solemn Legation to *Luitprand*, who not only received the Legates with extraordinary Marks of Respect and Esteem, but, moved by the Motives they alleged, granted a Peace to the Pope and the *Romans*; and even promised to restore to them, in Token of an entire Reconciliation, the four Cities he had taken. However, he insisted on the Pope's not only abandoning the Duke of *Spoleti*, whom his Predecessor had taken into his Protection, and assisted in the Recovery of his Dukedom, but on his obliging the *Romans* to join him with all the Forces they could raise against that Rebel. The Pope chose rather to abandon the Duke, than disoblige the King; who, being joined by a considerable Body of *Romans*, entered the Dukedom of *Spoleti*, in order to lay Siege to that City: But *Trasimund*, trusting more in the Mercy of the King, than in his own Strength, went out to meet him as he approached; and delivered himself up into his Hands. The King granted him his Life, but deprived him of his Dukedom; and, appointing another Duke in his room, obliged him to spend the Remainder of his Days in a Monastery.

The Pope had performed whatever the King had required of him: But the King still delayed the Execution of the Promise he had made to restore the four Cities. *Zachary* therefore, impatient to see those Places evacuated by the *Lombards*, and united again to the Dukedom of *Rome*, instead of sending a new Legation for that Purpose to the King, resolved to wait on him in Person, being thereunto chiefly en-



couraged by the kind Reception, which his Predecessor *Gregory II.* <sup>Year of Christ 742.</sup> had met with, when he went to wait on him in his Camp before *Rome* <sup>2</sup>. Agreeably to that Resolution he set out from the *Lateran* Palace, attended by several Bishops, and a great Number of other Ecclesiastics; and arriving at *Ortona*, in his Way to the King's Camp, in the Neighbourhood of *Interamna*, now *Terni*, he was there met by *Grimoald*, one of the great Officers of State, sent by the King, upon the first Notice of his Journey, to receive him. From *Ortona* he was conducted by *Grimoald* to *Narni*, and there received with extraordinary Honours by the King, who attended him from thence with all the Nobility, and almost the whole Army, to *Terni*. The two following Days, *Friday* and *Saturday*, the Pope and the King met in the Church of *St. Valentine*; and, in these two Interviews, the Pope, by representing to the King, with great Energy and Eloquence, the Shortness and Vanity of all temporal Grandeur; by putting him in mind of the strict Account he was one Day to give, and perhaps very soon, for all the human Blood, which he had caused to be shed to gratify his Ambition; and threatening him with eternal Damnation, if he did not restore the four above-mentioned Cities; softened the Mind of that warlike Prince to such a Degree, that he immediately yielded those Cities, declaring, in the Presence of all, that they no longer belonged to him, but to the Apostle *St. Peter*; the Emperor, who alone had an unquestionable Right to them, being quite out of the Question. At the same time the King ordered the wealthy Patrimony of the *Roman* Church in the Country of the *Sabines*, which the *Lombards* had seized thirty Years before, to be forthwith restored, and with it the Patrimonies of that Church in the Territories of *Narni*, of *Osimo*, of *Ancona*, and *Polimartium*. <sup>How received by the King.</sup> <sup>Persuades the King to restore the four Cities he had taken.</sup>

He likewise released, at the Request of the Pope, without Ransom, all the Prisoners he had taken in his Wars with the *Romans*, among whom were four Consular Men, and concluded a Peace for twenty Years with the Dukedom of *Rome*. <sup>Peace concluded between the Romans, and the Lombards.</sup> As the Sec of *Terni* was at this time vacant by the Death of *Constantine*, Bishop of that City; the following *Sunday* the Pope ordained, at the Desire of the King, a new Bishop in his room, the King assisting at the Ceremony, with all the chief Officers both of the Court and the Army, and likewise at divine Service, which was performed by the Pope with extraordinary

\* See above, p. 254.

Year of  
Christ 742.

Pomp and Solemnity. When the Service was over, the Pope gave an Entertainment to the King and his Attendants, the most splendid and sumptuous, as all declared, they ever had seen. Indeed the Christian Pontiffs soon rivalled the Pagan in Banquets and Luxury. The next Day the Pope, taking Leave of the King, set out on his Return to *Rome*, attended by *Aldeprand*, the King's Grandson, and several other Persons of the first Rank, whom the King had appointed to conduct him to the four Cities, and deliver them up to him; which was accordingly done. The Pope, having thus obtained of the King whatever he had asked, entered *Rome* in a kind of Triumph, and the next Day ordered, by way of Thanksgiving, a solemn Procession from the Church of *St. Mary ad Martyres*, the antient *Pantheon*, to that of *St. Peter*.

Germany divided into  
three Bishop-  
ricks.

*Zachary*, on his Return to *Rome*, received a Letter from *Boniface*, the Apostle of *Germany*, congratulating him on his Promotion, and assuring him of his intire Subjection to the Apostolic See. In the same Letter *Boniface* acquainted the Pope with his having divided the Province of *Germany* into three Bishopricks, viz. of *Wirtzburg*, *Buraburg*, and *Erphesfurt*; begged his Holiness to confirm them; consulted him concerning certain Points relating to Discipline; and desired Leave to assemble a Council in the Dominions of *Carloman*: The Pope, in his Answer, approved what he had done, declared the three Cities Episcopal Sees, and readily consented to his assembling a Council, and presiding at it as Legate of the Apostolic See. From the Letter of *Boniface*, and the Pope's Answer to it, it appears, that in *France* the Clergy from the highest to the lowest, the Bishops as well as the Presbyters and Deacons, led, at this time, most debauched and dissolute Lives; that Incest, Fornication, Concubinage, and Adultery, were common among them; that some of them kept four, five, and more Concubines, the blessed Effects of a forced Celibacy! that they bore Arms, served in War against the Christians as well as the *Saracens*, and distinguished themselves from the Laity only by their Lewdness and Debauchery <sup>a</sup>. The Pope, in his Answer, impowered *Boniface* to suspend from their Office, and from all the Functions of their Ministry, not only such Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as should be found guilty of the above-mentioned Excesses, but those too who

The debauched  
Lives of the  
French Cler-  
gy.

<sup>a</sup> Concil. t. 6. p. 1494. Epist. Bonif. 132.

had been twice married, or who continued to cohabit with the Wives they had married before their Ordination <sup>b.</sup> Year of  
Christ 742.

From the same Letters it appears, that the Pagan Ceremonies were not yet, in 742. or had been but very lately, quite abolished in *Rome*: For *Boniface*, in his Letter, desires the Pope to inform him, whether Pagan Ceremonies still  
prevail in  
Rome.

what he had been told by some Persons, come lately from *Rome*, was true or not; *viz.* that there New-year's Day was still kept after the Pagan manner; that all the profane and superstitious Ceremonies, formerly practised on that Day by the Pagans, were still practised on the same Day by the Christians; that Charms, Amulets, and Phylacteries, or Preservatives against all Dangers and Distempers, were still worn by the Women on their Legs and Arms, and publicly sold (B). The Pope, in his Answer, owns many Pagan Superstitions, and superstitious Practices, to have obtained in *Rome* even to the Time of his Predecessor, and his own, notwithstanding all the Pains that had been taken to suppress them: But adds, that they were now, he hoped, utterly abolished in virtue of a Decree, which *Gregory*, his immediate Predecessor, had issued for that Purpose, and he had confirmed c. As the People of *Rome* were so fond of the Customs and Manners of their Pagan Ancestors, it is not to be wondered, that they distinguished themselves, in the manner we have seen, by their Zeal for the Worship of Images.

*Zachary* had sent, as soon as ordained, a solemn Legation into the East, with a Letter to the Emperor, and a Confession of his Faith, addressed, not to the Patriarch, as was customary, since he had been excommunicated by his Predecessor *Gregory II.* but to the Church of *Constantinople*. The Legates, on their Arrival in the Imperial City, found all there in the utmost Confusion; and not *Constantine*, to whom the Letter was addressed, but the Usurper *Artabasdus*, in Possession of the Throne (C). As his Usurpation had divided both the Year of  
Christ 743.  
The Pope  
sends a so-  
lemn Lega-  
tion into the  
East

<sup>b</sup> Concil. ibid. et apud Bar. ad Ann. 742. p. 146.      <sup>c</sup> Ibid.

(B) Phylacteries were Amulets made of Ribbands, with a Text of Scripture, or some other Charm of Words written upon them, and hung about the Neck, to cure Diseases, and preserve Men from Dangers. And thence they were called *Phylacteries* or *Preservatives*.

(C) Of this Revolution the Historians of those Times give us the following Account.

*Constantine*, being informed that the *Saracens* had, upon the News of the Death of his Father *Leo*, made an Irruption into *Asia*, and committed dreadful Ravages there, left *Constantinople*, and, taking with him the Flower of his Troops, marched against them in Person. In his Absence *Artabasdus*, who had married his Sister, taking Advantage of the Hatred the Populace bore him on Ac-

Year of  
Christ 743. *People and the Army, some siding with him, and some with Constantine, the Legates continued a whole Year in Constantinople waiting till*

count of his Aversion to Images (for he insisted on the strict Observance of the Edicts, which his Father had issued against them), caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor by the Troops, which he had, as Governor of *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, under his Command. At the same time, he dispatched one *Thalassius* to acquaint *Theophanes*, whom *Constantine* had trusted with the Government of *Constantinople*, that both the Soldiery and the People of the two above-mentioned Provinces had readily acknowledged him for Emperor; and persuade him to espouse his Cause, and dispose the Garrison, as well as the Inhabitants, to receive him into the City. *Theophanes*, not doubting but that *Artabasdus* would prevail in the End, the superstitious Multitude being every-where ready to rise in Defence of their Images, not only declared for the Usurper, but, to prevent the Friends of *Constantine* from raising Disturbances in the City, assured the People, whom he assembled, for that Purpose, in the great Church, that the Emperor was killed; and that, upon his Death, the Legions had all proclaimed *Artabasdus* in his room. The News of *Constantine's* Death was believed, and *Artabasdus* thereupon acknowledged by all, without the least Opposition, for lawful Emperor. In the mean time *Nicephorus*, the Son of *Artabasdus*, and Governor of *Thrace*, having assembled in great Haste the Troops, that were quartered in that Province, entered the Imperial City at their Head, and, seizing on such as he knew, or only suspected to be well affected to *Constantine*, caused some of them to be cruelly beaten, deprived others of their Sight, and commanded the rest to be thrown into Dungeons, and kept there closely confined. *Nicephorus* was soon followed by *Artabasdus* himself, who entered the City amidst the loud Acclamations of the Populace; and was, the very next Day, solemnly crowned by the Patriarch *Anastasius*, whom *Theophanes* had persuaded to declare in his Favour. As the Report, that had been industriously spread, of *Constantine's* Death, was, by this time, found to be groundless, the time-serving Patriarch, to keep the

People nevertheless steady in the Allegiance they had sworn to the Usurper, assembled them, at his Persuasion, in the great Church; and there, after painting *Constantine* to them as the most wicked of Men, he assured them, that, as to his Belief, he was an *Arian* in his Heart; that he held Christ to be but a mere Man; and that he himself heard him one Day utter the following Blasphemy, *I do not believe him to be the Son of God, who was born of Mary, and is called Christ, but a mere Man; for Mary was delivered of him after the same manner as Mary my Mother was delivered of me.* This the Patriarch confirmed with a solemn Oath, holding a Cross in his Hand, and swearing by him, who died on it to redeem Mankind, that he had advanced nothing, but what he himself knew to be true. The Whole was, as will hereafter be made to appear, a barefaced Calumny, invented by the Patriarch, to prejudice the Populace still more against *Constantine*; and make his Court, by that means, to the Usurper. However, as it was so solemnly attested by him, it made so deep an Impression on the stupid and credulous Multitude, that, loading *Constantine* with a thousand Curses, they declared, with one Voice, that they would stand by *Artabasdus* to the last; and maintain him, at the Expence of their Fortunes and their Lives, on the Throne.

*Artabasdus* well knew, that the Hatred, which the Populace, and the Monks, who stirred them up, bore to *Constantine*, was merely owing to his Zeal against the superstitious Use and Worship of Images; and therefore, to rivet himself, by a contrary Zeal, in their Favour, he no sooner found himself placed on the Throne, than, reversing the Edicts of *Leo*, commanding all Images to be pulled down, he ordered them, by a new Edict, to be set up again; approved the Worship, that was given them, agreeably to the Practice, as he pretended, of the Catholic Church, ever since the Apostolic Times; and forbid, on Pain of Death, or Exile, any Person whatever to question or dispute the Lawfulness of that Worship. Thus were Images once more restored,

till the one or the other should prevail. *Constantine* prevailed in the Year of  
 End; and he was no sooner seated again quietly on the Throne, than *Christ* 743.  
 he

restored, to the unspeakable Joy of the Monks, of the Populace, and the Women; and, at the same time, all the superstitious Practices revived, which the good Emperor *Leo* had taken so much Pains to suppress and abolish. Many however were not wanting, among the Laity as well as the Clergy, who refused, with great Firmness and Constancy, to bow the Knee to *Baal*: But Superstition now reigned without Restraint or Controul; and they were either most grossly insulted by the Populace, or driven by the Usurper into Exile. As for the Patriarch *Anastasius*, he had, from the Beginning, espoused the Cause of the Usurper; had, by the Lyes and Calumnies he invented, redoubled the Prejudices of the Multitude against their lawful Sovereign; and was now as busy in setting up Images, as he had been busy under *Leo* in pulling them down. The new Emperor therefore not only confirmed him in his Dignity, the only Object of his Zeal, but, reposing an entire Confidence in him, governed himself, in all Matters of Moment, wholly by his Advice.

While these Things passed at *Constantinople*, *Constantine*, though at this time only in the twenty-first Year of his Age, was carrying on the War, with surprising Success, against the *Saracens* in *Asia*. He had defeated them in several Engagements; had driven them quite out of the Territories of the Empire, and was preparing to attack them in their own. But receiving, in the mean time, Intelligence of the Revolt of *Artabasdus*, of the Defection of great Part of the Army, and the Reception the Usurper had met with from the People of *Constantinople*, he concluded a Truce with the *Saracens*; and, bending his March strait to *Constantinople*, arrived, in the latter End of the Autumn at *Chrysepolis*, on the *Bosporus*, over-against that City, and encamped there with his whole Army. He hoped, that his Friends in the City, encouraged by his unexpected Arrival, would all take up Arms in his Favour; and, by keeping the People and the Garrison awed and employed within, give him an Opportunity

of attacking, amidst that Confusion, the Place from without, and putting an End at once to the War. But he found, to his great Disappointment, that, notwithstanding his Approach at the Head of a powerful and victorious Army, all continued quiet in the City, his Friends being either disarmed, or kept closely confined in the Dungeons; that the Place was defended by a very numerous Garrison; and that the Citizens, looking upon the Cause of the Usurper as the Cause of the Faith and the Church, were determined to hold out to the last. Instead therefore of making, at present, any Attempt on the City, or engaging, as the Season was already far advanced, in a Siege, he withdrew into *Phrygia*, and there put his Troops into Winter-Quarters, in the Neighbourhood of *Armo-rium*.

Early in the Spring the two Competitors took the Field. *Artabasdus*, leaving his eldest Son *Nicephorus*, whom he had taken for his Partner in the Empire, with a strong Garrison in *Constantinople*, passed over into *Asia*; and, giving out there, that he had taken up Arms with no other Design, but to defend the Catholic Faith against one, who had undertaken to establish the blasphemous Doctrine of the *Mahometans* and the *Jews* in its room, he not only met with no Opposition in that Province, but was every-where received by the Populace with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy, and his Army plentifully supplied with all Sorts of Provisions. From *Asia* he advanced into *Lydia*; but, in that Province, he was unexpectedly met by *Constantine*, who had hitherto pretended to fly before him. An Engagement thereupon ensued, which, as it was likely to prove decisive, long continued doubtful, Victory inclining sometimes to one Side, and sometimes to the other. The two Competitors, as they fought not for a City, or a Province, but for the Empire, distinguished themselves even above the bravest of their respective Armies. But *Constantine* prevailed in the End; the Army of the Usurper was utterly defeated, and he obliged to give over  
 the

Year of  
Christ 743.

he sent for them, and received them with the greatest Marks of Kindness and Esteem. It does not appear, that of the Controversy about Images

the Fight, and fly, when he found none, who would stand and fight with him. He was closely pursued, but nevertheless got safe to *Cyzicus* on the *Propontis*, and from thence passed over in a small Vessel to *Constantinople*.

*Nicetas*, the Usurper's younger Son, commanded an Army, in *Bithynia*, no less powerful and numerous, than that of his Father; and had already reduced with it the far greater Part of that Province. Against him *Constantine* marched without Loss of Time; and, coming up with him when least expected, engaged him, cut most of his Men in Pieces, and obliged him to save himself with the rest by a disorderly Flight. He did not pursue him, but led his victorious Army strait to *Constantinople*, and invested the Place by Sea and by Land. As they had within a numerous Army, rather than a Garrison, of regular and well disciplined Troops, commanded by the Usurper himself; and the People were determined, as they declared, to part with their Lives rather than their Images, which they knew they must part with, should *Constantine* prevail; the Siege lasted two whole Months; and, during that time, great Numbers were killed on both Sides in the daily Sallies of the one, or the repeated Attacks of the other. *Artabasdus* often attempted, as Provisions began to be very scarce in the City, to open himself a Way, Sword in Hand, through the Enemy's Camp, and return into *Asia*. But he was as often repulsed, and driven back, with great Loss, the Governor *Theophanes* being killed among the rest in one of these desperate Attempts. *Nicetas* had, by this time, raised a new Army, and amassed an incredible Quantity of Provisions for the Relief of the City, where a dreadful Famine now raged. But, as he approached *Constantinople*, he was, by *Constantine*, a second time defeated, and taken. *Constantine*, on his Return before the City, shewed him loaded with Chains, to his Father and the Citizens on the Walls; and, ordering a general Assault before they could recover from the Consternation, which his Defeat and such a Sight had occasioned, made himself, with

a very inconsiderable Loss, Master of the Place, and gave it up, as it was taken by Storm, to be plundered for some Hours by the Soldiery. *Artabasdus* and his Son *Nicephorus* attempted to make their Escape; but were taken, and delivered up to the Emperor, who spared the Lives both of the Father and his two Sons; but, to prevent their raising new Disturbances, ordered their Eyes to be put out, and shewed them, in that Condition, to the Multitude assembled in the *Hippodrome*. The other Ringleaders, and Heads of the Rebellion, he either put to Death, deprived of their Sight, a Punishment common at this time in the East, or sent into Exile. As for the Patriarch *Anastasius*, the most guilty of all, he was, by the Emperor's Order, first publicly whipt, and then deprived of his Sight, and carried, in that Condition, through the Circus, on an Ass, with his Face to the Tail. However, as he owned the Justice of his Punishment, and bore it with Resignation and Patience, the Emperor, pitying his Condition, reinstated him in his Dignity; and he continued to govern the Church of *Constantinople* to the Year 753. when he died.

*Constantine*, having thus by his Conduct and Valour recovered his Crown, and punished, in the manner we have seen, the chief Authors of the Rebellion, generously forgave all the rest, and even entertained the Populace, forgetting their late Conduct, with public Sports and Diversions. As he was resolved to leave the City again, and march against the *Saracens*, who had broken the Truce, and were now at War among themselves, he did all that lay in his Power to win the Affections of the People, lest they should raise new Disturbances in his Absence. Unwilling however to court their Favour at the Expence of his Conscience, he caused all the Images, which the Usurper had set up, to be taken down again, and destroyed, assuring the People, that he would take care, as soon as he was disengaged from his Wars, and had settled the Empire in Peace, to have the Subject of the present fatal Dispute thoroughly examined, and finally determined, by a General

## Zachary. BISHOPS of Rome.

Images any Mention was made either by the Legates in the Audience they had, or by the Pope in his Letter. For all *Anastasius*, the only Writer who speaks of that Legation, says of it is, that the Legates were well received by the Emperor; and that *he granted, agreeably to the Request of his Holiness Pope Zachary, certain Crown Lands, called Nymphas and Nornias, to be for ever held and possessed by the said most holy Pope, and the holy Roman See* <sup>f</sup>. And here it is to be observed, that, though the late Pope *Gregory III.* depending on the Protection of *Charles Martel*, had openly withdrawn himself, with the City and Dukedom of *Rome*, from all Subjection to the Emperor *Leo*; his Successor *Zachary*, who had no such Protector, to amuse *Constantine*, and divert him from sending an Army, as he had threatened to do, against the Rebels in *Rome*, not only pretended to acknowledge him for his lawful Sovereign, but found means to persuade him, that he had nothing so much at Heart as the Re-establishing of his Authority in the Provinces, that remained to the Empire in *Italy*. *Constantine* therefore, wholly intent on improving to the Advantage of the Empire the intestine Broils, that reigned, at this Time, among the *Saracens*, left the Care of his Affairs in the West intirely to the Pope, whose Interest it was, as he well knew, to prevent the *Lombards*, the only Enemy the Empire had in those Parts, from enlarging their Dominions, and becoming more powerful. The Legates brought with them, on their Return to *Rome*, and delivered to the Pope, a Grant of the above mentioned Lands signed by the Emperor himself.

<sup>f</sup> Anast. in Zach.

neral Council. He added, that, as his Father had, by repeated Edicts, proscribed both the Use and Worship of Images, he would suffer none, in the mean time, to be worshiped, or to be set up in the Places of Worship, but would punish with the utmost Severity all, who should be found guilty of either.

Such is the Account the two most credible Historians of those Times, *Theophanes* (1), and the Patriarch *Nicephorus* (2), have given us of the present Revolution; an Account very different from that, which the Reader will find in the more modern

*Greek Writers*, representing *Constantine* as acting, on the present Occasion, with an unheard of Barbarity; as unpeopling the City with Executions; as sparing none, but racking, maiming, or putting to the most cruel Deaths, all, who were any-ways concerned, or only suspected to have been any-ways concerned, in the Revolt. But, as the Facts they relate were either utterly unknown to the above-mentioned Historians, and other contemporary Writers, or looked upon by them as fabulous, we too may well be allowed to look upon them in that, and no other Light.

(1) Theoph. ad Ann. Constantin. 3.

(2) Niceph. in Breviar. ad Ann. 2.

Year of  
Christ 743.

The King of  
the Lom-  
bards breaks  
into the Ex-  
archate.

The Exarch  
and the Peo-  
ple apply to  
the Pope.

Who sends a  
sol. m. Lega-  
tion to the  
King.

The Pope un-  
dertakes a  
Journey to  
Pavia, to  
treat in Per-  
son with the  
King.

In the mean time the King of the *Lombards*, taking Advantage of the Disturbances, that reigned in the East, broke unexpectedly into the Exarchate, made himself Master of the Castle of *Cesena*, a Place of great Strength and Importance, and was preparing to lay Siege to *Ravenna* itself. As neither that nor the other Cities of the Exarchate were any-ways in a Condition to withstand so powerful an Enemy, and no Succours could be sent, or, though sent, could arrive in time from the East, *Eutychius*, at this time Exarch, having no other Resource, resolved to recur to the Pope. And to him was sent accordingly a solemn Deputation in the Name of the Exarch, of *John* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and of all the Inhabitants of the Exarchate, for they all joined, earnestly intreating his Holiness to interpolate his good Offices, in their behalf, with the King. *Zachary*, jealous, as his Predecessors ever had been, of the growing Power of the *Lombards*; and well apprised, that, should they once become Masters of the Exarchate, they would be thereby both tempted and enabled to make themselves Masters of the City and Dukedom of *Rome*; wanted no Intreaties to exert all his Credit and Interest with the King on such an Occasion. He therefore dispatched, in great Haste, before the King took the Field, the Bishop *Benedict* his Major Domo, and *Ambrose* the chief of the Notaries, to represent to him the crying Injustice, of which he was guilty; and the strict Account he must one Day give for all the Blood, that should be shed in a War, which his Ambition had wantonly kindled: But *Luitprand*, instead of hearkening to their Representations, ordered his Army, while they were still at *Pavia*, to assemble in that Neighbourhood, determined to march at their Head, as soon as they were assembled, strait to *Ravenna*.

Of this the Pope was no sooner informed, than, apprehending the whole Exarchate, as well as the City of *Ravenna*, to be in imminent Danger of becoming soon a Prey to the *Lombards*, he resolved to repair in Person to *Pavia*, and try a second time what Effect his Presence might have on the King. He set out accordingly without Delay, and, taking *Ravenna* in his Way, he entered that City attended by the Exarch, who had gone a whole Day's Journey to meet him; and by all the Nobility, as well as the Officers both civil and military, and amidst the loud Acclamations of the People, who looked upon him as their Deliverer, and their only Refuge in their present Distress. From *Ravenna* he dispatched *Stephen* the Presbyter, and *Ambrose* the chief of the Notaries, to acquaint the King with his Arrival in that

City,



Zachary.

BISHOPS of Rome.

321

City, and his Design of advancing to *Pavia* to confer with him in Person. The King, unwilling to be diverted from his intended Expedition, would not hear the Legates, nor admit them to his Presence: But the Pope, who had followed them, arriving in the mean time in the Neighbourhood, the King sent out all the chief Men of his Court to receive him, and attend him into the City. The next Day, the Festival of St. *Peter*, the Pope performed divine Service with great Solemnity in the Church of that Apostle standing without the Walls of the City; and returning with the King, who had assisted at the Service, to the Palace, he was there by him magnificently entertained with all the Ecclesiastics who attended him.

The Day after the Pope and the King had a private Conference; and, in that Conference, the King, after having withstood, for a long while, all the Reasons, Remonstrances, Entreaties, of the Pope, yielded at last, and was persuaded, *post multam duritiam*, says *Anastasius*, not only to conclude a Peace with the Exarch, and the People of *Ravenna*, but to restore *Cesena*, and all the other Places he had taken. He attended the Pope, at his Departure, to the Banks of the *Po*, and there, taking Leave of him with the warmest Expressions of Friendship, appointed some of his chief Lords to deliver up to him the Places he had seized, and wait on him to the Borders of his Kingdom &c. *Zachary* must surely have been a Man of great Parts, as well as great Eloquence, else he could never thus have persuaded so warlike a Prince as *Luitprand* to lay down his Arms, and live in Peace, when he had good Reason to promise himself the greatest Advantages from a War. *Baronius*<sup>h</sup> and *Pagi*<sup>i</sup> observe here, after *De Marca*<sup>k</sup>, that the Preservation of the Imperial Dominions in *Italy* was entirely owing to the Popes; and consequently, that the Loss of those Provinces has, by the modern *Greek* Writers, with the utmost Injustice been laid to their Charge. Indeed the Popes, it must be owned, prevented the *Lombards* from making themselves Masters of the few Provinces, that still remained to the Empire in *Italy*; and, in that Sense, they may be said to have preserved them: But that they acted for themselves, while they pretended to act for the Emperors, that they preserved them for themselves, and not for the Emperors, will appear in the Sequel.

<sup>s</sup> Anast. ibid.  
743. n. 14.

<sup>h</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 743. p. 156.  
<sup>k</sup> Marca de Concord. l. 3. c. 11. n. 5.

<sup>i</sup> Anton. Pagi ad Ann.

Year of  
Christ 743.  
Council as-  
sembled in  
Rome, to re-  
store the de-  
cayed Disci-  
pline.

As several Abuses prevailed at this time in the Churches of *Italy*, especially in the Churches immediately subject to the *Roman See*, the two preceding Popes having suffered their Attention to be entirely engrossed by the Dispute about Images; *Zachary*, on his Return to *Rome*, after celebrating anew the Festival of *St. Peter*, and returning public Thanks for the Success of his Negotiations, assembled a Council, to restore the decayed Discipline, and enforce the Observance of the Canons. The Council met in the Church of *St. Peter*, and consisted of forty Bishops, all of *Italy*, twenty-two Presbyters, six Deacons, and all the Clergy of *Rome*. By them were issued thirteen Canons, most of them tending to restrain the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons from all Intercourse with Women, from suffering any to dwell with them besides their Mothers, their Sisters, and their nearest Relations. How many Canons have been made for that Purpose since Celibacy was first introduced! What Trouble would not the Bishops, the Popes, and the Councils, have saved themselves, what Scandals would they not have prevented, by allowing the Clergy to marry! By the same Council Marriage was declared incestuous, and forbidden on Pain of Excommunication, between a Man and his Niece, his Step-mother, his Brother's Widow, his Cousin-german (B), or any nearly related to him; that is, within the seventh Degree of Consanguinity or Affinity (C). In the Church

(B) Till the Time of *Theodosius* there was no Law Civil or Ecclesiastical, against the Marriage of Cousin-germans: But that Emperor, by an express Law, forbid Cousin-germans to marry, on Pain of having their Goods confiscated, and being themselves burnt alive (1). His Law *Arcadius* confirmed, but mitigated the Punishment, only rendering all intestable, who contracted such Marriages, and their Children illegitimate (2). Not satisfied with mitigating the Punishment, he afterwards revoked the Law; allowed Cousin-germans to marry; forbid any Action or Accusation to be brought against them, on account of their Marriage; and declared their Children, whether they themselves were the Children of two Brothers or two Sisters, or of a

Sister and a Brother, legitimate, or lawfully begotten (3). This Law *Justinian* inserted both into his Code and his Institutions (4); and thus it became the standing Law of the Empire. The Church however kept, and still keeps, to the antiquated Law of *Theodosius*, in Opposition to some of her most eminent Teachers, or Fathers, declaring such Marriages in themselves absolutely lawful (5).

(C) Till the IVth *Lateran Council*, held under *Innocent III.* in 1215. Marriages were forbidden by the Canons, within the seventh Degree of Affinity, as well as Consanguinity. But by that Council the Prohibition was restrained to the fourth Degree (6).

(1) Cod. Theodof. l. 3. tit. 10. (2) Ibid. tit. 12. leg. 3. (3) Cod. Justin. l. 5. tit. 4. leg. 19. (4) Cod. Justin. ibid. et Institut. l. 1. tit. 10. (5) Athanas. Synopf. Scriptur. Lib. Numeror. T. 2. p. 70. et Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 15. c. 16. (6) Concil. Lateran. 4. Can. 50.

Zachary.

BISHOPS of Rome.

223

of Rome such Marriages are still deemed incestuous, and are forbidden to the Poor, who cannot purchase Dispensations; but are free from all Incest, and allowed to the Rich, who can.

Year of  
Christ 743.

The following Year *Zachary* received a Letter from *Boniface*, *Zachary* re- charging him, to his great Surprise, with Simony, in taking Money for the Palls, which he had, at his Request, sent to some of the *German* Bishops. The Letter of *Boniface* has not reached our Times, but

Year of  
Christ 744.

the Pope's Answer to it has: And it is observable, that *Zachary* does not, in his Answer, recur to any of the Distinctions used by the modern Popes and Divines, to excuse from Simony the receiving of Money on such an Occasion; but supposing that it was Simony to exact or receive any, he denies the Charge, and finds Fault with *Boniface* for giving Credit to so scandalous a Report. "Far be it from us, says he, to take or exact any thing whatever for the Palls we bestow. We neither require, receive, nor even expect any thing for them, but freely give what we have freely received, anathematizing all, who presume to sell the Gifts of the Holy Ghost!" Thus *Zachary*; and yet the Pall, for which it was, in the Opinion of this great Pope, Simony to exact or receive any thing whatever, is now, and has long been, one of the chief Funds of the Papal See<sup>m</sup>. We must therefore either allow *Zachary* to have erred in his Notion of Simony, or his Successors to be notoriously guilty of that Crime, or, as he calls it, Heresy.

At this time the Churches of *Germany*, which *Boniface* had found- ed, and those of *France*, were greatly disturbed by two notorious Im- postors and Heretics, as *Boniface* styles them, *Adalbert*, and *Clement*, the former a Native of *France*, and the latter of *Scotland*. *Adalbert* pretended to have been sanctified in the Womb, to have been chosen by God, and sent into the World to reform the Manners of Man- kind, and retrieve them from their Wickedness. Having persuaded, or, as *Boniface* writes to the Pope, bribed some Bishops to ordain him Bishop, he gave out, that God had vested him with greater Power than any of the Apostles, and raised him to a Degree of Sanctity above them all; and therefore scorning to consecrate Churches to St. *Pe- ter*, to St. *Paul*, or to any other Apostle or Martyr, he consecrated them only to St. *Adalbert*, that is, to himself. As *Boniface* had in- troduced into *Germany* the Worship of Reliques, *Adalbert*, to hu-

The Churches  
of France  
and Germa-  
ny disturbed  
by two Im-  
postors.  
Year of  
Christ 745.

The Errors  
of Adalbert.

<sup>1</sup> Zach. ep. 5.

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 8. Note C.

Year of  
Christ 745.

mour the Superstition of the Populace, pretended to have some of an extraordinary Virtue, brought to him by an Angel from the most distant Parts of the World; nay, and distributed among his Followers his own Hair, and the Parings of his Nails, as Reliques no less worthy of Worship than any that were worshiped at the Tombs of the Apostles. When the People came to confess their Sins to him, he would not hear them; saying, they might save themselves the Trouble of telling their Sins to him, since he knew better than they what Sins they were guilty of; nothing being concealed from him, not even their most private Thoughts and Intentions. He wrote his own Life under the following Title; *The Life of the holy and blessed Bishop ADALBERT, the Elect of God*; filled with most absurd, ridiculous, and incredible Stories, tho' none of them more absurd, more ridiculous and incredible, than many we read in the approved Legends. In his Life he pretended to have received a Letter from our Saviour, who, he said, had dispatched an Angel with it from Heaven. He had probably heard of our Saviour's Letter to *Abgarus*, King of *Edeffa*, and thought that the one Tale might be believed as well as the other. He scorned to pray to Saints, looking upon himself as superior to them all; but nevertheless, invoked the Angels under the Names of *Uriel, Raguel, Tubuel, Michael, Incar, Tubicas, Sabaoc, Simiel*. He did not continue long in one Place, but travelling from Town to Town, was every-where followed, notwithstanding the gross Absurdities he advanced, by such Multitudes of the seduced Populace, that no Church being capable of holding them, he was obliged, like the strolling Impostors and Fanatics of our Days, to preach in the Fields; and the Fields were filled, as *Boniface* complained in his Letter to the Pope, while the Churches were left quite empty.

*The Errors  
of Clement.*

As for *Clement*, he rejected the Authority of the Canons; understood the Scriptures in a different Sense from that, in which they were understood by the Fathers; maintained, that tho' he had two Children begotten in Adultery, yet he was still a true Bishop; thought it lawful for a Man to marry his Brother's Widow; taught that Christ, on his Descent into Hell, delivered all who were detained there, the Believers as well as the Unbelievers, the Worshipers of the true God as well as the Worshipers of Images; and held several heterodox Opinions concerning Predestination.

*Boniface* had condemned and deposed both *Adalbert* and *Clement*, in a Council held under *Carloman*; nay, and had persuaded that Prince to cause them to be apprehended, and closely confined. But of that Severity, the Populace, ever fond of new Doctrines, however absurd, and new Preachers, loudly complained; and even threatened *Boniface* for depriving them of their holy Apostle, meaning *Adalbert*, of their great Preacher, of one, whom they themselves had seen work no less stupendous Miracles, than any that are said to have been wrought by the Apostles. *Boniface* therefore, thinking they might acquiesce in his Judgment, were it confirmed by the Pope, dispatched to *Rome* the Presbyter *Deneard*, with a Copy of the Acts of his Council, and the original Pieces, that had been produced against the two Impostors, and for which they had both been condemned. *Zachary*, upon the Receipt of those Papers, and the Letter, which *Boniface* wrote to him on that Occasion, entreating his Holiness to confirm the Judgment he had given, assembled a Council to re-examine the Cause. The Council consisted of seven Bishops, and seventeen Presbyters; and by them the Judgment of *Boniface* was approved and confirmed, and the two Heretics condemned anew, excommunicated, and anathematized with all their Followers. The Life of *Adalbert* written by himself, the Letter, which he pretended to have received from our Saviour, and a Prayer he had composed to the Angels mentioned above, were, by the Council, declared blasphemous, and condemned to the Flames: But the Pope reprieved them, and ordered them to be lodged in the Archives of his Church.

Year of  
Christ 745.

Both con-  
demned in a  
Council held  
at Rome.

The following Year arrived at *Rome*, with a great Retinue, and many rich Presents for the Pope and St. *Peter*, *Carloman*, the eldest Son of *Charles Martel*, and Brother of *Pepin*. He had governed, with great Glory, the Kingdom of *Austrasia* ever since the Death of his Father, and gained, by several remarkable Victories, the Reputation of a brave and able Commander: But he was, at the same time, a Prince of great Religion and Piety, according to the Notion Men then entertained of Religion and Piety; and therefore resolved, when at the Height of his Glory, to abandon the World, and retire to a Monastery, the monastic Profession being universally looked upon, not only as of all others the most pleasing to God, but as the only

*Carloman*  
arrives at  
Rome.

Year of  
Christ 746.

Year of  
Christ 746.

And there  
embraces a  
monastic  
Life.

Year of  
Christ 747.

safe and sure Way to Heaven: Pursuant to that Resolution he resigned the Dominions he governed to his Brother, who, it seems, took no great Pains to divert him from so godly a Design; and, to the great Surprize of all *France*, retired to *Rome*, to receive there the monastic Habit at the Hands of the Pope. As he had countenanced and assisted *Boniface* to the utmost of his Power, in the Conversion of *Germany*, most of the Nations to which that Missionary preached, being subject to *France*; and had spared no Pains to restore, in the Dominions he governed, the Ecclesiastical Discipline entirely neglected, and reform the Manners of the Monks and the Clergy, distinguished, at that time, only by their Vices, and more debauched Lives, from the Laity (A); the Pope received him with most extraordinary Marks of Respect and Esteem, and entertained him in a Manner quite suitable to his Rank, during the short time he continued at *Rome*. He had no sooner visited the Tombs of the Apostles, and the other reputed holy Places of that City, than dismissing his Retinue, and putting on the monastic Habit, delivered to him with the usual Ceremony by the Pope, he withdrew to Mount *Soracte*, now Mount *St. Sylvester*, and there built a Monastery. But as that Place was distant only a few Miles from *Rome*, he soon quitted it to avoid the frequent Visits of the *French*, who came to that City; and retiring, by the Advice of the Pope, to the more remote Monastery of *Monte Cassino*, spent there the remaining Part of his Life. He is said to have chosen and discharged, with great Chearfulness, the meanest Offices of the Monastery, to have even served in the Kitchen, to have kept the Sheep of the Monastery, and to have worked, like a Day-labourer, in the Garden. Super-

• Continuat. Fredeg. r. c. 110. Eginard in Annal. ad Ann. 746. Chron. Cassin. t. 1. c. 7.

(A) He had assembled three Councils for that Purpose, one in 742. another in 743. a third in 745. and assisted at them all in Person. That of 743. was held at *Estines*, the Palace of the Kings of *Austrasia*, in the Neighbourhood of *Cambrai*. Where the other two were held we know not. At these Councils *Carloman* is said to have presided, and *Boniface* to have held, as Legate of the Apostolic See, the first Place among the Bishops. Among the other Regulations they made for the

Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy, it was ordained by the sixth Canon of the first Council, that such Priests, as were found guilty of Fornication, should be whipt to bleeding, should be imprisoned for two Years, and, besides, undergo what other Penance the Bishop should think fit to impose on them; and that the inferior Clergy, the Monks, and the Nuns, *Nonnae*, if guilty of the same Crime, should be thrice whipt in the same Manner, and imprisoned for a Twelvemonth.

stition will soon prevail, if Men once give way to it, and extinguish, if not withstood in time, all Reason, and even common Sense. It was no unusual thing, in these superstitious and dark Ages, for a King to exchange the Royal Diadem for the Cowl of a Monk. *Ceolwulf*, King of *Northumberland*, had lately (in 737.) made that Exchange, and he was the eighth *Anglo-Saxon* King that had made it.

In the mean time died *Luitprand*, King of the *Lombards*, after he had governed, with great Glory, that warlike Nation thirty-one Years, and seven Months. The contemporary Writers all bestow on him the highest Commendations, and paint him as a Prince endowed with every good Quality becoming a Prince. He was a Man, says *Paulus Diaconus*, of great Wisdom, Sagacity, and Religion; formidable in War, but a Lover of Peace; merciful to Delinquents, generous to the Poor, free from all Pride, an Enemy to all Ostentation and Pomp, chaste, just, moderate in the Exercise of his Power, beneficent even to his Enemies, the Father of his People, a wise Lawgiver, and, tho' ignorant of Letters, equal in Wisdom to the greatest Philosophers. He built and endowed a great Number of Churches and Monasteries, and appointed, what no King had done before him, Priests, and other Ecclesiastics, to sing daily Divine Service to him in a Chapel, which he built for that Purpose in his Palace. Thus *Paulus Diaconus*, who closes his History of the *Lombards* with the Death of this King. *Luitprand* left the Kingdom of the *Lombards* in a most flourishing Condition, and considerably enlarged with the Addition of several Cities of the *Pentapolis*, and the greater Part of *Emilia*, which he seized, improving to his Advantage the Disturbances, that were raised by the Pope and the *Romans* in *Italy*. He had it in his Power, during those Disturbances, to have made himself, and almost without Opposition, Master of all *Italy*: But hearkening to the Exhortations and Remonstrances of the Popes, he suffered himself, out of the great Regard he had for them, tho' he knew them to be the avowed Enemies of the whole *Lombard* Nation, to be diverted from pursuing his Conquests, and extending his Kingdom (B). Upon his Death,

¶ *Paul. Diac. l. 6. c. 57, 58.*

(B) The Reign of *Luitprand* is for nothing more remarkable in the Annals of the Church, than for the Discovery and Translation of the Body of St. *Austin*, or of a Body said and believed to be his. It was discovered in *Sardinia*; and tho' nobody

Year of  
Christ 747.

*Rachis chosen  
in his room.*

Death, *Hildebrand*, his Grandson, whom he had taken for his Partner in the Kingdom ever since the Year 736. governed alone (C). But the *Lombards*, finding him quite unequal to so great a Charge, and besides, of a cruel, savage, and intractable Temper, deposed him, after a short Reign of seven Months, and raised *Rachis*, Duke of *Friuli*, a Person highly esteemed for his Wisdom, his Piety, and Experience in War, to the Throne in his room<sup>a</sup>.

He invades  
the Roman  
Dukedom,  
and besieges  
Perugia.  
Year of  
Christ 748.

*Zachary* was no sooner informed of the Promotion of *Rachis*, than he sent a solemn Legation to the new King, to confirm the twenty Years Peace, which his Predecessor had granted to him and the *Romans*. That Peace *Rachis* readily confirmed, out of the great Veneration which he had and professed, says *Anastasius*, for the Prince of the Apostles. The Cause of the Pope was now become the Cause of the Prince of the Apostles; and the Favours or Injuries, done to the Pope, were done to the Prince of the Apostles. However, *Rachis* had no sooner settled, to his Satisfaction, the Affairs of his Kingdom, than, forgetting the Peace he had confirmed, and thinking he might, without offending St. *Peter*, seize on the Territories, that neither belonged to him nor the Pope, but to the Emperor, he broke suddenly into the Dukedom of *Rome*, made himself Master of several strong Places there, and advancing to *Perugia*, laid close Siege to that City: But he had been only a few Days before it, when News was brought him of the Arrival of the Pope in that Neighbourhood, attended by the chief Men of his Clergy, and of

<sup>a</sup> Paul. Diac. l. 9. c. 55. Sigebert. ad Ann. 743.

body knew how, when, or by whom, it was conveyed from *Africa* to that Island. *Luitprand* was convinced, by the many Miracles which he was told it had wrought, that it was the true Body of that great Saint. He therefore caused it to be translated, with great Pomp and Solemnity, from *Sardinia* to *Pavia*, the Metropolis of his Kingdom, and to be deposited there in a most magnificent Church, which he built, at an immense Expence, for its Reception (1). The Anniversary of that Translation is kept to this Day (2); and as we read of no other Translation, the Body is supposed still to

remain in the same Church, the Church of St. *Peter*, in *cælo aureo*, tho' nobody can tell in what Place. The Letter, which *Baronius* produces, containing a distinct Account of this Translation, is now by all rejected as spurious (3).

(C) *Luitprand* being seized that Year with a dangerous Malady, and thought past Recovery; the *Lombards*, without waiting for his Death, proclaimed *Hildebrand* King. This *Luitprand* took very much amiss; but yet, upon his Recovery, allowed *Hildebrand* to keep the Title of King, and to reign together with him (4).

(1) Bed. l. de Sex Ætat. Paul. Diac. l. 6. c. 48.  
Kalend. Martii.

l. 6. c. 55

(3) Vide Pagi ad Ann. 725. n. 11.

(2) Martyr. Rom. prid.

(4) Paul. Diac.



the *Roman* Nobility. For *Zachary*, leaving *Rome* upon the first Intelligence of that unexpected Invasion, had set out in great Haste for the King's Camp at *Perugia*, not doubting, as he was well acquainted with the Character of that Prince, but his Presence, his Entreaties, Exhortations, Remonstrances, would have the same Effect upon him, as they had had, on two different Occasions, upon his warlike Predecessor, and work the same Change in the one, as they had wrought in the other. And truly, *Rachis* no sooner heard of his Arrival, than, suspending all hostile Operations, and interrupting the Siege, he detached great Part of the Army to attend him to the Camp, went out, as he approached, in Person to receive him, and paid him the same Honours he would have paid to *St. Peter* himself. The Pope had brought with him, as *Anastasius* informs us, many valuable Presents (probably some Filings of the Chains of *St. Peter*, the Key of his Tomb, or the supposed Bone of some supposed Saint, for these were the valuable Presents, which the Popes now commonly dealt in); and having with them gained the good Will, and engaged the Attention of the King, he represented to him, with such Force and Energy, the Injustice and Violence, of which he was guilty, in thus making War without the least Provocation, in causing the innocent Blood of so many Christians to be shed merely to gratify a criminal Ambition, and in seizing, by a Breach of the Peace, which he had solemnly confirmed and sworn to observe, what he knew it was a Crime only to covet; he represented, I say, that Injustice and Violence with such Force and Energy, that the King, affected beyond all Expression with his Speech, ordered the Siege to be immediately raised, and, confirming anew the twenty Years Peace, caused it to be proclaimed at the Head of the Army. At the same time he gave up the Places he had taken, and solemnly renouncing all Right to them, left the Pope in Possession of *Perugia*, and returned another Man, says *Leo Ostiensis*, to *Pavia*. He had been there but a very short time, *Anastasius* says only a few Days, when seriously reflecting on the Shortness and Vanity of all human Grandeur, on the many almost irresistible Temptations which the Pope had represented to him as unavoidably attending the Station in which he was placed, and the Danger to which his eternal Salvation was thereby exposed, he resolved to lay down

Year of  
Christ 748.

The Pope repairs to his  
Camp.

And persuades him to  
raise the  
Siege, and  
restore the  
Places he had  
taken.

\* Anast. in Zach.

Year of  
Christ 748.

He resigns  
his Kingdom,  
and retires to  
a Monaste-  
ry.

Year of  
Christ 749.

his Crown, which he now looked upon only as a Burden, and bidding Adieu to the World, and all its Allurements, retire to a Monastery. This Resolution, as he apprehended it would meet with great Opposition from his People, who not only loved, but, in a manner, adored him, he imparted to none but to *Thefia* his Queen, and his Daughter *Rattruda*: And with them he set out for *Rome*, as if he only intended to gratify his Curiosity, in seeing that once so famous Mistress of the World, and at the same time his Devotion in visiting the holy Places there, especially the Tombs of the Apostles. But soon after his Arrival in that City, he declared to the *Lombard* Lords who attended him, that he came to *Rome* with a Design to resign the Crown, that he resigned it accordingly, and that, the Throne being now empty, they were at Liberty to place in it whom they pleased in his room. The *Lombard* Lords, greatly surprised, and no less concerned at so sudden and unexpected a Resolution, alleged all the Motives, to divert the King from it, that their Zeal for the Welfare of their Country could suggest. But he persisted in his Resolution, received the monastic Habit from the Pope, and retired; as soon as he received it, to *Monte Cassino*, whither *Carloman* had retired but two Years before<sup>t</sup>. Some Years after his Zeal cooled, as we shall see, and he would have resumed the Crown as willingly as he resigned it, notwithstanding the many Temptations and Dangers to which it exposed him. But he found, when it was too late, that it is not so easy a thing to recover a Crown as to quit it. Upon his Resignation, his Wife and his Daughter, who had attended him to *Rome*, attended him from thence to *Mont Cassino*; and there, following his Example, retired into a Monastery of Virgins built and richly endowed by them in that Neighbourhood<sup>u</sup>.

Aistulphus  
his Brother  
chosen in his  
room.

The *Lombards* were no sooner informed of the Resignation of *Rachis*, than, assembling in *Pavia*, they chose his Brother *Aistulphus*, or *Astulphus*, in his room, a Man of a warlike Genius, and one, who delighted in nothing so much as in War. His Promotion gave no small Uneasiness to the Pope and the *Romans*; but nevertheless *Zachary* took care, upon the first Notice he had of it, to congratulate the new King, by a solemn Legation, in his own Name, and in the Name of the *Romans*, the peculiar People of

<sup>t</sup> Anast. in Zach. Leo Ostien. in Chron. Casin. c. 8. Sigebert in Chron. Ostien. Anast. ibid.

<sup>u</sup> Leo

the Prince of the Apostles, on his being raised by the Suffrages of his People, to the high Station, of which his eminent Virtues had rendered him of all the most worthy. The Legates were well received by the King, who, at their Request, confirmed the Peace which his two immediate Predecessors had granted, but observed it, as we shall see, a very short time.

Year of  
Christ 749.

Of *Zachary* nothing else occurs in History worthy of notice, till the Year 752. a Year memorable in the Annals of *France* for the Revolution, that happened then in that Kingdom; and no less memorable in the Annals of the *Roman Church* for the Part, that *Zachary* acted on that Occasion, and the Advantages, that accrued, from the Part he acted, to his Successors (for he did not live to enjoy them himself), and his See. Of this Revolution the contemporary Historians give us the following Account. *Pepin*, the Son of the famous *Charles Martel*, governed, at this time, the whole *French* Monarchy under *Childeric III.* with an absolute Power, but only with the Title of *Mayor of the Palace*. With that Title, or the Titles of *Majordomos*, of *Dukes*, or *Princes of the French*, or *Viceroy*s, his Family had exercised, for almost a whole Century, the sovereign Power; leaving nothing to the Kings, whom they took care to divert, with all manner of Pleasures, from attending to the Affairs of their Kingdom, besides the bare Name of Kings. But the Ambition of *Pepin* was not satisfied with the Power alone. He was still a Subject; and, as such, still acted with a borrowed Power; nay, with a Power, that was, however kingly, only precarious, so long as disjoined from the Title of King. Being therefore become, by the Resignation of his Brother, sole Mayor of the Palace, and Regent of the Kingdom, without either a Rival or a Partner in the Power, he began to think of adding the Title to the Power; of settling the one in his own Family, as well as the other; and being in Name what he already was in Effect. As most of the leading Men, in the Church as well as the State, were his Creatures, and owed their Rank and Preferments to him, or his Family, he did not doubt but they would readily concur with him in all his Measures. But the People, the far greater Part of the Nation, were still zealously attached to the Family on the Throne, the Family of the great *Clovis*, the Founder of their Monarchy; and had shewn, on several Occasions, that they thought themselves bound, in Justice and Conscience, to maintain his Posterity, however degenerate, in the Possession of a

*Pepin of  
France forms  
the Design of  
seizing on the  
Crown.*  
Year of  
Christ 752.

Year of  
Christ 752.

Title, which they had so long enjoyed (for the Space of near three hundred Years), and they alone had a Right to enjoy. This *Pepin* well knew; and therefore, not thinking it adviseable to attempt the Execution of his Design till the Minds of the People were, in some degree, reconciled to it; till their Consciences were quieted, and their Scruples removed; he resolved to apply, for that Purpose, to the Pope, and get his intended Usurpation approved and recommended by him.

*He imparts  
his Design to  
the Pope, who  
approves it.*

As the Pope stood, at this time, in great need of a powerful Protector against the warlike King of the *Lombards*, who he knew would not long observe the Peace he had made, *Pepin* did not at all doubt but his Holiness would approve his Design; nay, and embrace, with great Joy, so favourable an Opportunity of earning the Protection of one, who alone was powerful enough to protect him. He therefore dispatched to *Rome* *Burchard* Bishop of *Wirtzburg*, and his first Chaplain *Fulrad* Abbot of *St. Denys*, to propose the following Question to the Pope, and desire his Holiness, in his Name, to resolve it; viz. *Who best deserved to be stiled King; he, who was possessed of the Power, or he, who was only possessed of the Title?* The crafty Pope well understood the true Meaning of that Question; and therefore solved it, we may be sure, in favour of *Pepin*; declaring that, *in his Opinion, he ought rather to be stiled King, who possessed the Power, than he who possessed only the Title.*

*He is chosen  
King in the  
Assembly of  
the States.*

With this Answer the Deputies no sooner arrived in *France*, than *Pepin*, finding it entirely agreeable to his Expectation and Wishes, assembled, according to annual Custom, the States of the Realm in the City of *Soissons*. As the greater Part of the Members, who composed that Assembly, were his Creatures, and had by him been made privy to his Design, they took Occasion, from the happy State of the Nation, and the many Blessings they enjoy'd under the mild Administration of *Pepin*, to extol his many eminent Virtues, and extraordinary Qualifications, his Wisdom, his Courage, his Application to Business, his Zeal for the public Welfare, and the indefatigable Pains he had taken to procure the Happiness of the People, and enhance the Fame and Glory of the Nation. While some thus magnified the many good Qualities of *Pepin*, others took care to exaggerate, as it were by way of Contrast, the opposite Qualities of the unhappy *Childeric*; his Sloth and Indolence, his Love of Pleasures, his Cowardice, his Aversion to Business, his Weakness, and total want

want of every Qualification that was necessary to direct in Council, or head in the Field so great and warlike a Nation. They added, that the only Means of ensuring to themselves the many invaluable Blessings they enjoyed, and for which they were indebted to *Pepin* alone, was to ensure to him the Power, that had enabled him to procure them, by adding to it the Title of King; that as it was not fit that the Royal Title should be separated from the Power, nor the Royal Power from the Title, they were now to determine which was most for the Advantage of the Nation, that the Power should be united to the Title in *Childeric*, or the Title to the Power in *Pepin*. Here they urged the Opinion of the Pope, whom, they said, they had consulted, as they thought it their Duty in an Affair of such Moment; and his Holiness had not only approved, but recommended to the Assembly, the Proposal they now made, as, in the present Circumstances, absolutely necessary for the Safety and Welfare both of the Church and the State.

They had scarce done speaking, when the other Friends of *Pepin*, *Childeric* deposed, and confined to a Monastery. who were privy to the Secret, lifting him up on a Shield, according to the ancient Custom of the Nation, proclaimed him King; and not allowing the rest time to deliberate, acknowledged him, with loud Acclamations, for their Lord and their Sovereign. In the whole Assembly not one was found who had the Courage to espouse the Cause of the unhappy *Childeric*, or to utter a single Word in his Favour. He was, it seems, kept quite ignorant of what was transacting, till Notice was brought him, that he was no longer King; that another was placed on the Throne in his room; and that he must take the monkish Habit, and spend the rest of his Life in a Monastery. He was accordingly immediately conducted to the Monastery of *Sithieu*, now the Abbey of *St. Bertin*, where he died, about four Years after, probably of Grief. From History it appears that he had a Son, named *Theodoric*; but he too, to make room for *Pepin*, was excluded from the Throne, tho' nothing was, nor could be alleged, to justify such an Exclusion, and confined, as well as his Father, for Life to a Monastery<sup>a</sup>.

Such, in the main, is the Account the contemporary Historians give us of that famous Revolution, and of the Share Pope *Zachary* had in it. They disagree, indeed, in some Particulars; but in this they all agree.

<sup>a</sup> Iperius in Chron. Sithiu. Chron. Fontenel. Duchesn. Script. Hist. Franc. l. 1. Fredegar. Continuat. c. 117.

Year of  
Christ 752.

The French  
consulted him  
only as a  
Divine.

And he acted  
no other Part.

agree to a Man; viz. that the two Deputies, *Burchard* and *Fulrad*, were sent to *Rome* (whether by the Assembly of the States, as some write, or by *Pepin*, as others will have it, before the Assembly of the States was convened, it matters little) only to consult *Pope Zachary* <sup>b</sup>, to know his Opinion <sup>c</sup>, to beg he would declare what he thought should be done <sup>d</sup>; to advise with him whether *Childeric* should be suffered to continue on the Throne, or *Pepin* should be raised to it in his room <sup>e</sup>? From these Testimonies, and to them many more might be added <sup>f</sup>, it is manifest that the *French*, in transferring the Monarchy from the *Merovingian* to the *Carlovingian* Line, had recourse to the Pope only as a Divine, or a Casuist; that the only Part he was required to act, whatever Part he may have acted, was that of a Divine, no other than what any Divine, whom they had been pleased to consult, might have acted. I say whatever Part he may have acted; for by several Historians he is said not only to have advised, but to have commanded the *French* by his *Apostolic Authority*, by the Authority of *St. Peter*, to depose *Childeric*, and chuse *Pepin* in his room; and by the same Writers *Pepin* is said to have been raised to the Throne by the Command, by the Authority, by a Decree of *Pope Zachary* <sup>g</sup>. These, and such-like Expressions of the contemporary Writers, which *Bellarmino* has taken a great deal of Pains to collect <sup>h</sup>, have given Occasion to the Popish Historians to ascribe to the Pope the transferring of the *French* Monarchy from one Family to the other, and supplied, at the same time, the Popish Divines with what *Bellarmino* thinks an unanswerable Argument in favour of the Power which he vests in the Pope over temporal Princes and Kingdoms. But, in the first Place, we may well suppose those Historians to have meant nothing else by the *Command*, *Authority*, and *Decree*, of the Pope, but his Approbation, Advice, or Opinion; since *Pepin* asked nothing else, even according to them, of the Pope; and what is said by those, whom *Bellarmino* quotes, to have been done by the Authority of the Pope, is said by others (which it was not *Bellarmino's* Business to take notice of) to have been done by his Advice, or with his Approbation <sup>i</sup>. Indeed nothing is more common

<sup>b</sup> Blond. Flav. l. 10. Decad. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Regin. Prum. Chron. l. 2. ad Ann. Incar. 749.

<sup>d</sup> Marian. Scot. Chronic. l. 3. c. 750.

<sup>e</sup> Ado Viennens. Chron. Ætat. 62. Vide

Dupin. de antiqua Eccles. Discip. Dissert. 7. p. 513. & seq. <sup>g</sup> Annal. Franc.

<sup>h</sup> Eginard in vit. Carol. Mag. Regin. Chron. l. 2. Marian. Scot. Chron. l. 3. Aimon.

de Gest. Franc. l. 4. Sigebert Chron. ad Ann. 752. Herman. Contract. Chron. &c.

<sup>i</sup> Bellar. de Translat. Imp. Rom. l. 2. c. 2.

<sup>j</sup> Blond. Flavius Decad. l. 1. 10. Ado

Vienn. ubi supra.

than

than to ascribe the doing of a thing to the Person, by whose Advice, and with whose Approbation, it was done. *Zachary*, says *John of Paris*, deposed *Childeric*; that is, concurred, by his Advice, with them who deposed him. II. From the Conduct of the *French* on this Occasion, it is evident, that they were yet, notwithstanding their long and, at this time, we may say, daily Intercourse with *Rome*, utterly unacquainted with the boasted Power of the Popes over Kings and their Kingdoms. For who can believe that, if they had had the least Notion of such a Power, they would have contented themselves, as they certainly did, with only begging *Zachary* to deliver his Opinion, whether *Pepin* or *Childeric* best deserved the Title of King, and not rather desired him at once to take the Kingdom from the one, and give it to the other? Should we therefore even allow *Zachary*, not satisfied with acting, on so remarkable an Occasion, the humble Part of a Divine, to have interposed his Authority, to have not only advised, but commanded the *French* to depose *Childeric*, and chuse *Pepin* in his room, and to have issued a Decree for that Purpose; yet *Childeric* could not be properly said to have been deposed, nor *Pepin* to have been chosen by the Authority of the Pope; since they, by whom the one was deposed, and the other was chosen, were altogether Strangers to such an Authority. III. In the Diet or Assembly of the States, that was convened upon the Return of the Ambassadors from *Rome*, was urged indeed by the Friends of *Pepin*, the Opinion or Approbation of the Pope; but not the least Mention was made, or Notice was taken, of any Command or Decree. A plain Proof that no such Decree or Command was issued by the Pope; or, if it was, that no Account was made of it by the *French*; and either sufficiently shews that it was not by the Command, by the Authority, by a Decree of the Pope that *Childeric* was deposed; and *Pepin* was made King in his room. To conclude, from the Account the contemporary Historians give us of this Revolution, it plainly appears, that it was not in truth to know of the Pope, whether the Design, that *Pepin* had formed, of seizing on the Crown, was or was not agreeable to the Rules of Justice and Conscience, Rules little regarded where Ambition prevails, that the *French*, or rather that *Pepin* sent to consult him; but only to engage *Zachary* in his Cause, and render the Attempt he meditated less odious, by that means, in the Eyes of the Nation. In short it was, as *F. Daniel* expresses it, to remove the Scruples of the People, to surprise them into his Measures; to im-

pose

Year of  
Christ 752.

The Pope's

Answer to the  
French con-  
sulting him,  
highly absurd.

pose upon them, and blind them, that *Pepin* had recourse to the Pope<sup>m</sup>.

I shall not examine here whether the Advice given by the Pope was right or not. Whether he has been justly or unjustly charged by *Calvin*<sup>n</sup>, and the *Magdeburgenses*<sup>o</sup>, with prostituting his Conscience to the Interest of his See; but only observe, that *Childeric* had, by his Birth, an unquestionable Right both to the Power and the Title of King; and that *Pepin*, tho' actually possessed of the Power, had no kind of Right to it, no more than any other Man in the Kingdom would have had, who had been ambitious enough to have usurped it; so that the Answer or Opinion of the Pope, viz. *that he deserved to be stiled King, who was possessed of the Power, and not he, who was only possessed of the Title*, was, in effect, in the present Circumstances, that the King had forfeited all Right to the Title of King, because another had usurped the Power; and that he who had usurped the Power, had thereby acquired a Right to the Title. As to the Sloth, Indolence, Love of Pleasures, and Neglect of all public Affairs, both ecclesiastic and civil, which the later Kings of the *Merovingian* Race are charged with by the contemporary Historians, all partial to *Pepin* and his Family, it is well known, that they were entirely owing to the Mayors of the Palace, who having gained the Ascendant over those unhappy Princes, kept them shut up in their royal Villas quite ignorant of all public Affairs, suffered none to approach them who could give them the least Information, and only took care to supply them with all manner of Pleasures, to divert them, by that means, from attempting to recover their antient Authority. To judge them therefore unworthy of the Crown on account of their pretended Sloth, Indolence, Love of Pleasures, &c. was judging them unworthy of the Crown for Faults, which it was not in their Power to prevent; for minding only their Pleasures, when they were not suffered to mind any thing else; and for not attending, as they ought, to the Affairs of the State, when they were not allowed to attend to them at all, nor to concern themselves any-ways with them. They had indeed degenerated, as the Writers of those Times take care to observe, from the Worth of their Ancestors; but that too was chiefly, if not wholly, owing to their wicked Ministers indulging them in Sloth, in Idleness, in all kinds of Pleasures,

<sup>m</sup> Daniel Hist. de Franc. l. 1. c. 2. p. 510.    <sup>n</sup> Calvin. l. 4. c. 7. n. 17.    <sup>o</sup> Magdeburg. Centur. 8. c. 10.



with a Design to enervate their Minds, and render them incapable, by that means, of emancipating themselves, or obliging them to part with their ill-gotten Power. *Sigonius*, tho' a great Friend to the Popes, could not help thinking that *Zachary*, in advising, or, as he will have it, in commanding *Childeric* to be deposed, and *Pepin* to be chosen King in his room, betrayed a greater Regard for the Interest of his See than was consistent with the Laws of true Religion and Piety; and that, by his sacred Authority, he made just and lawful what would have been otherwise unjust and unlawful<sup>q</sup>. *F. Daniel* bestows, and very deservedly, the greatest Commendations on *Pepin*; but, at the same time, owns him, in the softest Terms indeed he could have used, to have been an Usurper<sup>r</sup>. If he was an Usurper, what was *Zachary*, who approved of his Usurpation, and seconded him, in so unjust an Attempt, with all the Authority of his See (F)?

Year of  
Christ 752.

*Zachary* did not live to reap any Advantage himself from his Partiality to *Pepin*, nay, scarce to congratulate him on his Promotion; for *Pepin* was chosen and proclaimed King in the Assembly of the States convened at *Soissons* on the First of *March*, according to Custom; and the Pope died on the 14th of the same Month, having presided in the *Roman* Church ten Years three Months and fourteen Days<sup>s</sup>. He is commonly reckoned amongst the greatest Popes; and indeed his whole Conduct bespeaks him a Man of uncommon Parts, of great Peneration, Resolution, and Address. But why he should have been allowed a Place amongst the canonized Popes, I know not, unless it were, as it probably was, for his having earned, in the Manner we have seen, the Protection and Favour of *Pepin*, to whose Protection and Favour was owing, as will appear in the Sequel, the temporal Grandeur of the Popes and their See. As the Successors of *Zachary* were therefore, in great measure, indebted to him for the Rank

*Zachary*  
*died.*

*And is ca-  
nonized.*

<sup>q</sup> *Sigon. de regn. Ital. l. 4.*  
in *Zach.*

<sup>r</sup> *Daniel ubi supra, p. 510. & 550.*

<sup>s</sup> *Anast.*

(F) *Calvin* compares *Pepin* and *Zachary* to two Robbers dividing the Booty between them; *Pepin* helping *Zachary* to the Spiritual, and *Zachary* *Pepin* to the Temporal Power (1). Indeed *Zachary* countenanced, to the utmost of his Apostolic Power, the

Usurpation of *Pepin*; and *Pepin*, in his Turn, encouraged *Boniface* to exercise, under the Character of the Pope's Legate, an Authority unknown, till his time, in the *Gallian* Church.

(1) *Calvin. l. 4. c. 7. n. 17.*

Year of  
Christ 752.

His Wri-  
tings.

of Princes, to which we shall soon see them raised, they could not do less than to place him among the Saints of Heaven, who had procured a Place for them among the Princes of the Earth; and probably procured it at the Expence of his Conscience.

Besides the Letters of *Zachary* already taken Notice of, several others have reached our Times; most of them Answers to the Doubts of *Boniface*, concerning the Functions of his Ministry, or Points of Discipline. One among the rest he wrote to that Missionary in 744, on the following Occasion. *Boniface*, desirous of bringing the Churches he had founded in *Germany* to an entire Uniformity with the *Roman Church*, had not only introduced amongst the *Germans* all the *Romish* Ceremonies, but together with them the Use of the *Latin Tongue* in the Service. As that Language was not then understood in *Germany* by the Priests themselves, a Priest in *Bavaria* had administered the Sacrament of Baptism in the following Words; *Baptizo in nomine Patria, et Filia, et Spiritua Sancta*. This gave occasion to a warm Dispute between *Boniface* and two of his Disciples, *Virgilius* and *Sidonius*; *Boniface* maintaining, that the Sacrament thus administered was not valid; and his two Disciples, that it was. *Virgilius*, who was, it seems, a Man of some Learning, strove to convince *Boniface*, that the Ignorance of the Minister, or a Solecism in the Language, could by no means affect a Sacrament, or prevent its Operation. But the Apostle of *Germany* was not a Man to be convinced by, or to yield to, one of his Disciples; and therefore, instead of hearkening to the Arguments and Reasons of *Virgilius*, he was for re-baptizing all whom the ignorant Priest had baptized against the Rules of the Grammar. Hereupon *Virgilius*, despairing of being able to overcome his Obstinacy by any other Means, resolved to propose the Question to the Pope, who, he was well apprised, would decide it in his Favour, and whose Judgment he knew *Boniface* would not presume to contradict. He proposed it accordingly; and the Answer of the Pope was, That if the Priest had administered Baptism in the Words mentioned above out of Ignorance of the *Latin Tongue*, and not with a Design to introduce a new Heresy, the Sacrament thus administered was good and valid; and that such as had been thus baptized, should by no means be baptized anew, but be only purified by the Imposition of Hands<sup>t</sup>. As of this Dispute no further mention is made, it is not at all to be doubted but

His Answer  
to Boniface,  
concerning  
the Sacra-  
ment of Bap-  
tism ungram-  
matically ad-  
ministrated.

<sup>t</sup> Zach. Ep. 6. et vit. Bonif. l. 2. c. 3.

that *Boniface* acquiesced without Reply in the Decision of the Pope. However, it would, perhaps, puzzle *Baronius* himself to reconcile that Decision, that *Divine Oracle*, as he styles it, of the *Apostolic See*, with the present Doctrine of that Church. The Pope, in his Answer, declared Baptism, though ungrammatically administered, to be valid, provided he who administered it, erred not against the Faith, but only against the Grammar; which evidently implies, that if he had erred against the Faith, his Baptism would not, in that Case, have been valid. But that no Heresy in the Minister, nor even Atheism, can invalidate the Sacrament of Baptism, that Baptism is no more to be reiterated when conferred by a *Jew*, by a Gentile, by an Atheist, than when conferred by the Pope himself, provided it be conferred in the Name of the Trinity, is now an established Doctrine in the Church of *Rome*, and the contrary Opinion a damnable Heresy.

Year of  
Christ 752.

Not easily re-  
conciled with  
the present  
Doctrine of  
the Church  
of Rome.

*Boniface* acquiesced, as we have seen, in the Judgment of the Pope; but bearing thenceforth a secret Grudge to *Virgilius*, and jealous of the growing Reputation of his Disciple, which he apprehended might eclipse his own, he laid hold of the following Opportunity, the first that offered, of being revenged on him, and discrediting him in the Opinion of the Pope. *Virgilius* had asserted, on what Occasion we are not told, that the Figure of the Earth was globular; that it was inhabited all round; and that the Parts of it diametrically opposite to each other had, in like manner, their Inhabitants diametrically opposite to each other. This *Boniface* could not comprehend; and therefore concluding, as he had no Notion of the Figure of the Earth, or the Antipodes, that *Virgilius* could have meant nothing else by his strange Assertion, but that there was another World under this, inhabited by other Men, and enlightened by another Sun and another Moon, it appearing impossible to him that the same Sun and Moon should enlighten this and another World under it, he wrote to the Pope, charging *Virgilius*, as if he actually believed, and had actually taught, a Plurality of Worlds. This *Zachary* looked upon as a dangerous Heresy; as from thence it would follow, that all Men were not descended from *Adam*, that all Men had not sinned in *Adam*, that Christ did not die for all Men, &c. which appeared to the Pope plainly repugnant to the Holy Scriptures. He therefore no sooner received the Letter of *Boniface*, than apprehending the Authority of the sacred Books, and with it the Whole

*Virgilius*  
ignorantly  
charged by  
*Boniface*  
with teaching  
a Plurality of  
Worlds.

Year of  
Christ 752.

The Pope orders him to be deposed, if guilty of teaching such a Doctrine.

of the Christian Religion, to be at stake, he wrote, without Loss of Time, to *his most reverend Brother, and Fellow-Bishop*, as he styled *Boniface*, commanding him to assemble a Council forthwith, to make a strict Search, together with his Fellow-Bishops, into the Life and Doctrine of *Virgilius*; and, if he should be found to have taught such an execrable Heresy against God, and his own Soul, and did not publicly abjure it, to degrade him, and cut him off, as a rotten Member, from the Body of the Faithful. The Pope wrote, at the same time, two other Letters; one to *Odilo*, or *Otilo*, Duke of *Bavaria*, entreating him, as he tendered the Welfare of his People, to send the Presbyter *Virgilius* to *Rome*, charged with teaching in his Dominions strange and Antichristian Doctrines; and another to *Virgilius* himself, summoning him to clear himself at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See, from the Heresy, with which he was charged. Thus much we learn from *Zachary's* Answer to the Letter of *Boniface*. But what was the Issue of that Affair, we are no-where told. However, as *Virgilius* continued to preach, and indeed with great Success, the Gospel in *Bavaria* and *Carinthia*, and was, some Years after, preferred to the See of *Saltzburgh*, nay, and is now honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Saint, it is not at all to be doubted but that he cleared himself from all Suspicion of Heresy, to the full Satisfaction of the Pope, and the great Mortification and Confusion of his ignorant Rival and Accuser.

The Conduct of Boniface, on this Occasion, inexcusable.

Some, to excuse the Ignorance of *Boniface*, tell us, that the Sentiments of *Virgilius* were misrepresented to him; and that it was upon the false Reports of ignorant People, who did not understand them, that he condemned them; not aware, that while they thus excuse his Ignorance, which, after all, was no Crime, they make him guilty of a Crime altogether inexcusable, that of arraigning of Heresy at the Tribunal of the Pope, of discrediting, and bringing into great Trouble, an Apostolic Man, his Disciple and Fellow-Labourer, and that upon the false Reports of ignorant People, without inquiring whether they were false or not, or allowing the Person thus accused an Opportunity of vindicating his Character. Was that acting like an Apostle? *Zachary*, I know, is commonly said, by the Protestant Writers, to have persecuted *Virgilius* for asserting the Antipodes; and that they frequently allege, as an Instance of the gross

<sup>a</sup> Zach. Ep. 12,

<sup>b</sup> Marc. Valser. rer. Boic. l. 5.

Ignorance of that Pope, and the Age he lived in \*. But that he was persecuted, not for asserting the Antipodes, but because he was charged, through the Ignorance of *Boniface*, with holding that under this there was another World, another Sun and Moon, an Hypothesis very different from that of the Antipodes, sufficiently appears from what has been said.

*Zachary* approved, the Year before he died, the Choice, which *Pepin* had made of the City of *Mentz* for the Metropolitan See of *Boniface*, and his Successors; subjecting to that new Metropolis the Cities of *Tongres*, *Colagn*, *Worms*, *Spires*, and *Utrecht*, with all the Bishopricks which *Boniface* had erected, and those that had, till that time, been subject to the See of *Worms*; viz. the Sees of *Strasbourg*, *Ausburgh*, *Buraburgh*, *Erford*, *Eichstat*, *Constance*, and *Coire* &c. Thus was the Jurisdiction of the See of *Mentz* extended, in favour of *Boniface*, over all *Germany*; but, a few Years after, the Cities of *Tongres* and *Cologne*, and, in Process of Time, several others, were exempted from all Subjection to that Metropolis.

*Zachary* is said by *Anastafius* to have built, repaired, and adorned, several Churches and Oratories; to have been more generous than most of his Predecessors to the Clergy, and the Poor; to have embellished the City with divers stately Buildings; and to have been no less beloved by the Laity of *Rome*, than he was by the Clergy. The same Writer tell us of a great Treasure discovered in the time of this Pope at *Rome*; viz. the Head of the famous Champion and Martyr *St. George*, who fought and killed the Dragon. As the *Greek* Inscription on the Shrine, in which the venerable Skull was inclosed, left no room to question its Authenticity, the Pope, transported with Joy at the Discovery of so authentic and valuable a Relique, assembled immediately the People and the Clergy, and, with great Pomp and Solemnity, translated it from the Place, in which it was found, to the Church of *St. George ad Velum Aureum*; where it long continued to attract the Veneration of the whole City, by the many stupendous Miracles which it daily wrought.

\* Kepler. Ep. ante lib. 4. Epitom. Origan. Ep. ad Elect. Brandenb. &c. Zach. Ep. 13. apud Othlon. \* Anast. in Zach. \* Idem ibid.

Year of  
Christ 752.

CONSTANTINE,  
LEO.

STEPHEN II.

AISTULPHUS, } King of the  
DESIDERIUS, } Lombards.

*Ninety-first* BISHOP of Rome.

Stephen II.  
chosen; - but  
dies before his  
Ordination.

IN the room of *Zachary* was chosen, a few Days after his Decease, a Presbyter named *Stephen*; but as he did not live to be ordained (for he died of an Apoplexy the fourth Day after his Election), he has not been reckoned by the more antient Writers in the Number of the Popes; and therefore the following Pope, who bore the same Name, is called by them *Stephen II.* another Pope of that Name having been raised to the See in 253<sup>a</sup>. However the more modern Writers, to establish this Point, that the Pope receives all his Authority from his Election alone, have allowed to this Presbyter a Place in the Catalogue of the Popes; altering, by that means, the Number of the subsequent *Stephens*, and calling the second in the antient Catalogues the third in theirs; the third the fourth; and so the rest to the ninth, whom they count the tenth; which has occasioned a great Disagreement between the Antients and the Moderns, and no small Confusion in the History of the Popes. But that the Person elected was not true Pope till ordained; that his Election gave him no kind of Authority; that he had no Right to issue Bulls before his Ordination; are Truths, that, for the Space of a thousand Years, and upwards, were never once called in question. In the Year 1059. Pope *Nicholas II.* issued a Decree; declaring, That if the Ordination of the Person elected should, by War, or by any other Means, be prevented, he might, nevertheless, exercise his Authority, as true and lawful Pope, in governing the *Roman Church*, and disposing of the Goods of the Holy See<sup>b</sup>: A plain Proof that it was then thought he could not exercise such an Authority, or at least disputed whether he could or not. And it was, 250 Years after the time of *Nicholas II.* still disputed whether the Pope had a Right to issue Bulls before his Ordination. But to that Dispute *Clement V.* soon put an End; for with him the Right was contested; forbidding, on Pain of Excommunication, by a Bull issued for that Purpose in 1306. any such

The Pope  
formerly not  
thought true  
Pope till or-  
dained.

<sup>a</sup> See Vol. II. p. 62.

<sup>b</sup> Apud Gratian. Diff. 23. Canon. *In Nomine Domini.*

Question to be brought into Debate <sup>c.</sup> But, notwithstanding that Prohibition, *Stephen*, who died before his Ordination, was excluded out of the Number of the Popes, and the *Stephen*, who was chosen in his room, called *Stephen II.* in all the Catalogues of the Popes, from the time of *Clement* to the Beginning of the 17th Century; when *Stephen*, though never ordained, and consequently no Bishop, was first honoured by *Onuphrius Panvinus*, a Writer wholly devoted to the See of *Rome*, with a Place among the *Roman* Bishops. *Panvinus* has been followed by all, who have written since his Time; and it is, at present, a settled Point in the Church of *Rome*, which no Man dares to call in question, though contrary to the Opinion of all Antiquity, that *Stephen*, though never ordained, was a true Pope; and, consequently, that the Pope receives all Papal Power and Authority from his Election alone. I shall, however, adhere to the more ancient Writers, and call, with them, the succeeding Pope *Stephen* the second of that Name.

Year of  
Christ 752.

He was a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of one *Constantine*; but his Father dying while he was yet very young, and he being left, by his Death, quite destitute, the Popes charged themselves with the Care of his Education, and brought him up in the *Lateran* Palace. He entered himself very early among the Clergy; and having discharged all the inferior Offices with great Reputation, he was preferred to the Dignity of Deacon of the *Roman* Church; and from that Station raised, upon the Death of *Stephen* the Presbyter elect, with one Consent by the People and the Clergy, to the See <sup>d</sup> (G). The new Pope was chosen in the Church of *St. Mary ad Præsepe*, now *Santa Maria Maggiore*, and carried from thence, on Mens Shoulders, to the *Lateran*. And this is the first Instance, as has been observed by *Polydore Virgil*, that appears of this Ceremony in the History of the Popes, or rather of this kind of Pageantry, so contrary to the Humility of Christ and his Apostles.

Another Stephen chosen in the room of the former.

He the first who was carried, as they all are now, on Mens Shoulders.

<sup>c</sup> Extravagant. Commun. l. 5. c. 4. tit. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Anast. in Steph. II.

(G) He was ordained when the See had been vacant, according to *Anastasius*, twelve Days (1), and, consequently, on the 26th of *March*, which, in the Year 752. fell on a Sunday. For that *Anastasius* reckoned those twelve Days from the Death of *Zachary*, which happened on the

14th of *March*, and did not therefore acknowledge *Stephen* the Presbyter for true Pope, is manifest from his allotting five Years and 29 Days to the Pontificate of Pope *Stephen*, who died, according to him, on the 29th of *April* 757.

(1) Anast. in Steph. II.

Stephen  
gets the  
Peace with  
Aistulphus  
King of the  
Lombards  
confirmed.  
Year of  
Christ 753.

Aistulphus  
breaks sud-  
denly into the  
Exarchate.

Reduces Ra-  
venna, and  
the Penta-  
polis.

An End of  
the Exar-  
chate.

As temporal Affairs, and the Preserving of the Imperial Dominions in *Italy* for the Emperors, as they pretended, but in Truth for themselves, had now engrossed the whole Attention of the Popes, the first Care of the new Pontiff was to get the Peace confirmed, which *Aistulphus* had lately granted to his Predecessor *Zachary*. With that View he dispatched, soon after his Ordination, his Brother *Paul*, and *Ambrose* the Primicerius, or Chief of the Notaries, with rich Presents to the King of the *Lombards*; who received the Legates with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem; and not only ratified the Peace he had granted to the late Pope, but extended it to forty Years more. This he did with no other View but to divert the Pope, by that means, from thwarting the Design he had upon the Exarchate, which he was resolved to invade; the Emperor *Constantine* being engaged, at this time, in War with the *Saracens*, and all *Asia* and *Greece* miserably wasted by a dreadful Plague. The warlike King, therefore, not to let pass unimproved so favourable an Opportunity of enlarging his Dominions at the Expence of the Empire, had no sooner concluded a Peace with the Pope and the *Romans*, than breaking unexpectedly into the Exarchate, he marched strait to the City of *Ravenna*, and closely besieged it. *Eutychius*, at this time Exarch, defended the Place for some time with great Resolution and Intrepidity; but finding his Men quite tired out, as the Garison was but small, by the repeated Attacks of the Enemy, and despairing of Relief, he abandoned it at last, and returned, carrying with him what Men and Effects he could, by Sea to *Constantinople*. *Aistulphus*, become thus Master of the Metropolis of the Exarchate, reduced, almost without Opposition, the other Cities, and all the *Pentapolis*, which he added to his Kingdom; and raised, by that Addition, the Power of the *Lombards* to the highest Pitch it had yet attained to since the time they first entered *Italy*<sup>f</sup>. Thus ended the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and, with the Exarchate, the Splendor of that ancient City; which had been, ever since the Time of *Valentinian*, the Seat of the Emperors of the West, as it was afterwards of the *Gothic* Kings, and, upon their Expulsion, of the Exarchs, who, residing there, had, for the Space of one hundred and eighty seven Years, maintained the Power and Authority of the Emperors in the West. It is now, as are all the once famous Cities, that have had the Misfortune

<sup>f</sup> Anast. in Steph. II.



to fall under a Priestly Government, reduced to a most deplorable Condition; and scarce are the Vestiges left of its antient Grandeur.

Year of  
Christ 753.

*Aistulphus*, now Master of the Exarchate, thought he had a just Title to all the Places depending on it, and, among the rest, to the *Roman* Dukedom, and to *Rome* itself. He therefore dispatched a

The King  
summons the  
Romans to  
submit to him.

Messenger to that City, requiring the Inhabitants to acknowledge him for their Sovereign; alleging, That the Exarchate, which was his by Right of Conquest, gave him all the Power the Exarchshad over *Rome*, and the other Cities, that were subject to them in *Italy*. At the same

Marches to-  
wards Rome.

time he marched his Army towards *Rome*; and having taken *Narnia*, then a Place of great Strength, in the *Roman* Dukedom, he dispatched from thence a second Messenger to *Rome*, threatening to plunder the City, and put all the Inhabitants, without Distinction, to the Sword, if they did not acknowledge him for their Lord and Master, and solemnly engage to pay yearly to him, as such, a *Solidus* of Gold a Head. This Message from the King, who was then encamped with his whole Army at *Narni*, but twenty-eight Miles from *Rome*, threw the whole City into the utmost Confusion, and they expected hourly to see him with all his Forces at their Gates. The Citizens all flew to Arms, resolved to die on the Walls rather than to submit, or be thought capable of submitting tamely, to so heavy and shameful a

Tribute. The Pope, to gain time, instead of returning, as the King had required him, a positive Answer to his Demand, sent a solemn Legation to him; at the Head of which were the Abbots of the two

The Pope  
sends two Ab-  
bots to treat  
with him.

famous Monasteries of *Monte Cassino* and *St. Vincent*; charging them to put him in mind of the Peace he had but very lately concluded with the *Romans*, and endeavour to persuade him, by all the Reasons and Arguments their Zeal for the Honour of *St. Peter* could suggest, to observe the Promise he had made to that Apostle, and solemnly sworn to observe. The King admitted the Abbots to his Pre-

The King  
orders them  
to return to  
their Mona-  
steries.

sence; but it was only to reproach them for concerning themselves with worldly Affairs, after they had renounced the World, and command them to repair, without returning any Answer to those, who had sent them on such an Errand, strait to their Monasteries; and there only mind their Prayers and Devotions. They had brought rich Presents with them for the King; but he would not receive them, nor so much as see them.

The Pope had, upon the first Irruption of the *Lombards* into the Exarchate, acquainted the Emperor therewith: But *Constantine*, who

The Emperor  
sends an Am-  
bassador to  
the King:

Year of  
Christ 753.

Who will  
hearken to no  
Terms :

But, to  
amuse the  
Emperor,  
sends an Am-  
bassador to  
the Imperial  
Court.

The King  
enters the  
Roman  
Dukedom,  
and blocks up  
Rome itself.

had already gained great Advantages over the *Saracens*, had recovered from them most of the Cities of *Syria*, *Armenia*, and *Affyria*, and was, at this very time, carrying on his Conquests with surprising Success beyond the *Euphrates*, loth to weaken his victorious Army, contented himself, for the present, with sending *John*, one of his chief Officers, into *Italy*, with the Character of his Ambassador to the King of the *Lombards*. *John* arrived at *Rome* soon after the unsuccessful Legation of the two Abbots, and brought with him Letters from the Emperor to the Pope; commanding him (*deferens Pontifici jussionem*) to act in Concert with his Ambassador, and persuade the King to send a Minister to *Constantinople*, to treat there of an Accommodation between the *Lombards* and Empire; and to forbear, in the mean time, all Hostilities. The Pope, in Obedience to that Command, sent his Brother *Paul* with the Emperor's Minister to *Ravenna*; where the King received and treated them with great Politeness, and even consented to send an Ambassador to the Imperial City; but could by no means be prevailed upon to restore any of the Places he had taken, or to agree to a Cessation of Arms during the Negotiations. From *Ravenna* the Imperial Minister returned to *Rome* with the King's Ambassador; and from *Rome* both repaired to *Constantinople*, with a Nuncio sent by the Pope to assure the Emperor, that the King of the *Lombards* only amused him; that he would agree to no Terms; and that if a powerful Army were not sent forthwith into *Italy*, *Rome*, and the poor Remains of the *Roman* Empire in that Country, would be, in a very short time, irreparably lost &c.

Soon after the Departure of the Ambassadors, the King sent a third Messenger to the Pope and the *Romans*; peremptorily requiring them to pay the same Homage to him, as he was now Master of *Ravenna*, which they had paid to the Emperor while he was Master of that City. This Request the *Romans* rejected with great Indignation; and the King thereupon declaring, that he looked both upon them, and the Pope, as Rebels, entered, in great Wrath, the *Roman* Dukedom, took several Cities by Storm, laid waste the Country with Fire and Sword, carried off the Inhabitants, and, by the Reduction of the Castles in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, blocked up the City on all Sides. In this Distress the Pope, to keep the dispirited People from

sinking into Despair, took care to amuse them with public Prayers, Litanies, Processions, &c. assuring them that Heaven would, in the End, interpose in their behalf. In one of these Processions the whole *Roman* People, the Clergy, and the Pope himself, walked barefoot with Ashes on their Heads. The Pope carried on his Shoulders an Image of our Saviour, that was not made with Mens Hands, but had, like the Image of *Pallas* in old *Troy*, or that of the great *Diana* of the *Ephesians*, fallen down from Heaven. At the Head of the Procession was carried a Cross with the Treaty of Peace fixed on the Top of it, which the King of the *Lombards* had lately concluded with the Pope and the *Roman* People.<sup>b</sup>

Year of  
Christ 753.

The Pope  
recurs to  
Prayers,  
Processions,  
Litanies, &c.

Besides this, other Processions were daily made to one Church or another; and in them were carried Images of the Virgin *Mary*, of the Apostles Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, and of many other Saints. But the Saints appearing all alike deaf to the Prayers of the distressed People, as deaf as their Images, the Pope, despairing of Relief from them, resolved to apply to one, who he flattered himself would, if the Saints would not, hear him. Pope *Zachary* had, as we have seen, countenanced, so far as in him lay, the Usurpation of *Pepin*; and thereby not a little contributed to the Settling of the Crown of *France* upon him, and his Posterity. This good Turn *Stephen* did not doubt but the most religious King would readily requite with another; and therefore resolved to apply to him, and implore his Protection against the Attempts of the most wicked King of the *Lombards*. As for the Emperor, the Pope well knew, even when he wrote to him to send Troops into *Italy*, that he could spare none; and, in truth, dreaded the *Greeks* as much as he did the *Lombards*; *Constantine* as much as *Aistulphus*. He therefore wrote, pursuant to the Resolution he had taken, a most pressing Letter to *Pepin* to acquaint him with the deplorable Condition, to which he and the peculiar People of St. *Peter* were reduced by the perfidious King of the *Lombards*, and earnestly entreat him to take them into his Protection; since in him alone, after God, they had placed all their Confidence.

But with  
better Success  
to *Pepin* and  
the French  
Nation.

His Letter  
to *Pepin*.

This Letter the Pope sent by a Pilgrim, or by a Person in the Disguise of a Pilgrim, who, not being suspected by the *Lombards*, Masters of the Passes, arrived safe with it in *France*. *Pepin*, upon the Receipt

*Pepin assures  
him of his  
Protection.*

<sup>b</sup> Anast. in Steph. II.

Year of  
Christ 753.

He resolves  
to retire to  
France.

Pepin, ac-  
quainted with  
his Design,  
sends two  
Persons of  
Distinction  
to attend him.

The Pope  
commanded by  
the Emperor  
to repair in  
Person to the  
Court of  
Aistulphus.

of the Pope's Letter, immediately dispatched an Abbot named *Droctegangus* to *Rome* to assure the Pope of his Protection; and by him on his Return to *France*, the Pope, who knew the *Lombards* would not dare to stop him, wrote anew to *Pepin*, and, at the same time, to the *French* Nobility in general. He had resolved to consult his own Safety, whatever became of the peculiar People of *St. Peter*, and withdraw from *Rome* into *France*; and with this Resolution he acquainted *Pepin* in his Letter; begging him to send some Persons of Distinction to conduct him safe into his Dominions. In his Letter to the Nobility he conjured them to join their most excellent King in the Defence he had generously undertaken of their common Protector the Apostle *St. Peter*, and his favourite People. *Pepin* had no sooner received the Pope's Letter, than, in Compliance with his Request, he appointed *Chrodigangus* Bishop of *Metz*, and *Autcharius* a Lord of great Distinction, to attend his Holiness into *France*; ordering them to repair, for that Purpose, without Loss of Time, to *Rome*. They set out immediately; and, on their Arrival at *Rome*, found there *John* the Imperial Envoy, the Ambassador of the King of the *Lombards*, and the Pope's Nuncio, returned, a few Days before, from *Constantinople*. As nothing had been concluded in the Conferences held in that City, the Emperor, remembering with what Success Pope *Zachary* had negotiated in Person with the two Kings of the *Lombards*, *Luitprand* and *Rachis*<sup>k</sup>, sent an Order by his Ambassador to *Stephen* to repair in Person to *Pavia*, and press *Aistulphus* to restore *Ravenna*, and the other Places he had taken by a Breach of the most solemn Treaties. In Obedience to this Order the Pope set out on the 14th of *October* of the present Year for *Pavia*, attended by the Envoy of the Emperor, and the two *French* Envoys *Chrodigangus* and *Autcharius*; of whom the latter went before, as they approached *Pavia*, to acquaint the King that the Pope was coming to treat with him of an Accommodation, and let him know, that his Master would not fail to resent any evil Treatment his Holiness might meet with. The King assured the Envoy, that his Holiness had no Reason to be under the least Apprehension of any ill Treatment at his Court; and that, had he even come alone, he should have met with none. However he sent one privately to warn him against urging, or so much as mentioning to him the Restitution of *Ravenna*, and the other Cities of

<sup>k</sup> Cod. Carolin. Num. 10, et 11.

<sup>k</sup> See above, p. 312. 313. 321. 329.

the Exarchate. To this Message the Pope returned Answer, that he feared nothing, and would acquit himself, as he ought, of the Commission, which he was charged with; and accordingly not only mentioned the Restitution of the said Cities in the Audience he had, but represented to the King, with great Liberty (trusting, no doubt, in his *French* Friends), the Injustice he was guilty of, in not restoring what he had no Right to keep. This Liberty the King highly resented; but, dissembling his Resentment, he told the Pope, that he possessed those Cities by Right of Conquest; that the Emperors themselves possessed them originally by no other Right; and that he was resolved to maintain, as they had done, that Right, so long as he had Power and Strength enough to maintain it. The same Answer he returned to the Emperor's Ambassador, who had brought a Letter to him from the Emperor<sup>1</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 753.  
His Nego-  
tations there  
quite unsuc-  
cessful.

The two *French* Envoys, who were present at this Interview, finding the King would hearken to no Terms of Peace, told him, that as it was no longer safe for the Pope to continue in *Rome*, they had been ordered by their Master to attend him into *France*, and entreat him not to molest or stop his Holiness on his Journey. This Demand surprised, and at the same time alarmed the King; not doubting but *Stephen*, treading in the Footsteps of his Predecessor *Gregory III.* would strive, and probably with Success, to engage *Pepin* in his Cause, and stir up the whole *French* Nation against him. *Aistulphus*, therefore, taking him aside, asked him, Whether he was really resolved to abandon *Rome*, and retire into *France*? And the Pope answering, that he was, the King immediately dismissed him; but sent privately the next Day some of his Friends to divert him from such a Resolution, and assure him, in his Name, that he had nothing to fear; and that he should ever be treated with all the Respect, that was due to his sacred Character. But the Pope persisted in the Resolution he had taken; and the King, unwilling to quarrel with *Pepin*, told him, in the next Audience, that if he continued in the same Mind, and was still determined to retire to *France*, he should meet with no Hindrance from him; but might set out, if he pleased, that very Day. The Pope did not delay his Departure; but apprehending the King might, under some Pretence or other, change his Mind, he left *Pavia* early the next Day (the 16th of *November*), attended by the two *French*

From the  
King's Court  
the Pope sets  
out for  
France.

<sup>1</sup> Anast. in Steph. II.

Year of  
Christ 753.

Pepin sends  
two Persons  
of Distinction  
to congratulate  
him on  
his safe Ar-  
rival in his  
Dominions.

How received  
by Pepin  
himself.

Pepin pro-  
mises, upon  
Oath, to  
cause the Ex-  
archate to be  
restored, and  
to protect the  
Roman  
Church.

Year of  
Christ 754.

Envoys, some Bishops, and other Ecclesiastics; and, travelling with great Expedition, to get quickly out of the Territories of the *Lombards*, arrived in a few Days at the Monastery of *St. Mauricius*, on the *Rhone*, a little above the Lake of *Geneva*. As that Monastery stood in the *French* Dominions, the Pope, now out of all Danger, and tired with his Journey, rested there a few Days; and, in the mean time, came the Abbot *Fulrad*, first Chaplain of the Palace, and Duke *Rotard*, sent by *Pepin* to congratulate his Holiness, in his Name, on his safe Arrival, and attend him to *Pontyon*, a royal Castle in the Neighbourhood of *Langres*, where the King then was with all the Royal Family. *Pepin* no sooner heard of the Pope's leaving the Monastery of *St. Mauricius*, than he sent his Son *Charles*, and some of the chief Lords of his Court, to meet him; and went out himself with his Queen *Bertrade*, his other Son *Carloman*, and most of the *French* Nobility, three Miles to receive him. As he approached, the King, quitting his Horse, fell prostrate on the Ground, and, not suffering the Pope to dismount, attended him Part of the Way on Foot, performing, says *Anastasius*, the Office of his Groom or Equerry<sup>m</sup>. *St. Peter* would not have suffered himself to be thus honoured; but probably rejected such extraordinary Marks of Veneration rather than Respect, with as much Indignation as *Paul* and *Barnabas* rejected the Honours, that the People of *Lystra* would have paid to them<sup>n</sup>. But the pretended Successor of *St. Peter*, the *Servant of Servants*, was very patient on the Occasion; nay, we shall see his Successors arrived, in Process of Time, to such an Height of Antichristian Pride and Presumption, as to exact the like Honours of the greatest Princes of the Earth.

The Pope arrived at *Pontyon* on the 6th of *January* 754.; and the very next Day he took care to acquaint *Pepin* with the Motives of his Journey, to lay before him the deplorable Condition, to which the City of *Rome*, and the unhappy People, were reduced, and entreat him, by the Merits of *St. Peter*, to undertake the Defence of that Apostle against the wicked and perfidious Nation of the *Lombards* his sworn Enemies. Some Writers tell us, that he threw himself at *Pepin's* Feet, and would not rise till the King had promised to espouse his Cause, and employ, if necessary, the whole Strength of his Kingdom in his Defence. However that be, certain it is, that the King

<sup>m</sup> Anast. in St. ph. II.

<sup>n</sup> Acts c. xix. ver. 11—19.

not only promised, but bound himself by a solemn Oath, since nothing less would satisfy his Holiness, to protect the Church of St. *Peter*, and cause *Ravenna* to be restored with the other Cities, that had been unjustly seized by the *Lombards*. *Anastasius* says, that he promised upon Oath to do whatever the Pope should require or advise him to do. Indeed his Conduct would incline one to think that he had taken such an Oath. From the Castle of *Pontyon* *Pepin* repaired with the Royal Family, and the Pope, to *Paris*; and from thence *Stephen*, highly pleased with the Reception he had met with, retired to the Monastery of St. *Denis* to pass the Winter there °.

In that Monastery the Pope was taken dangerously ill, but recovered; and his unexpected Recovery was ascribed by him to the Intercession of the Martyr St. *Denis* Protector of the Monastery (F). *Pepin* was now upon the Point of setting out from *Paris*; but hear-

Year of  
Christ 754.

The Pope  
taken dan-  
gerously ill.

° Anast. in Steph. II. Annal. Metens. ad Ann. 743. Continuat. Fredeg. c. 19.

(F) I will not quarrel with *Baronius* about the Pope's miraculous Recovery; since it is attested, as the Annalist observes, by his Holiness himself; but only relate it in his Holiness's own Words: "Being given over by the Physicians, says the Pope, in one of his Letters (1), I thought I was praying in the Church of the blessed Martyr *Denis*; and there I saw the good Shepherd *Peter*, and *Paul*, the Apostle of the Gentiles, standing before the Altar. I knew them both perfectly well by their Pictures. With them was the thrice blessed St. *Denis*; and he stood at the right Hand of St. *Peter*. He is a tall thin Man, with a comely Countenance, and grey Hair, and was clad in White; but had a scarlet Mantle, seeded with Stars, over his white Garment. They conversed among themselves: The good Shepherd said; This sick Brother of ours begs to be restored to his Health. *Paul* answered, He shall be cured this Moment; and, approaching *Denis*, he laid his Hand in a friendly manner on his Breast, and looked at *Peter*. *Peter* turned to *Denis*, and, with a cheerful Countenance, Your Favour, said he to him, is his Health. At these Words *Denis*, holding a Censer in the one Hand, and the Branch of a Palm-  
tree (the Badge of a Martyr), in the other, drew near to me, attended by a Priest and a Deacon, who had hitherto kept at a Distance; saying, as he approached me, Peace be to you, Brother; do not fear, you shall not die before you return prosperously to your See. Rise up, and consecrate this Altar to the Honour of God, and his two Apostles, whom you see. I rose; and finding myself entirely restored to my Health and my Strength, was for consecrating the Altar that Moment: But they, who attended me, thinking I raved, would not allow me to undertake it, till I had related to them, and likewise to the King, all that had happened." Thus far the Pope himself. They about him thought he raved, when he was for undertaking the Consecration of the Altar; but whether they had not more Reason to think so, when he gave them this Account of his Recovery, I leave the Reader to judge, if we should not suppose the Whole to have been invented, as it most probably was, by the Pope, with a political View. To this Day is to be seen, in the Abbey of St. *Denis*, a Pall, supposed to be the Pall of Pope *Stephen*, left by him on the Altar he consecrated, to perpetuate the Memory of his miraculous Recovery.

(1) Apud Hilduin. in Areopagitica; et tom. 6. Concil. p. 1649.

Year of.  
Christ 754.

Pepin anointed  
by him on  
his Recovery.

ing the Pope was entirely recovered, he would be anointed by him King of *France* before he left that City. He had been anointed by *Boniface* at *Soissons*, soon after his Election; but thinking that the same Ceremony, if performed by the Pope, would recommend him more to the Respect of his Subjects, and greatly contribute to the securing of the Crown to himself and his Posterity, he desired to be anointed anew by his Holiness. *Stephen*, we may be sure, readily complied with his Desire; and the Ceremony was performed, with the greatest Solemnity, in the Church of *St. Denis*. *Bertrade* the Queen, and the two young Princes *Charles* and *Carloman*, received the Royal Unction at the same time (G); and, on that Occasion, the Pope bestowed, in the Name of the *Roman* Republic and his own, the Title of *Roman* Patricians on *Pepin* and his two Sons; a Title, which *Stephen*, and his Successors, ever afterwards gave them in all the Letters they wrote to them. When the Ceremony was over, the Pope gave a solemn Blessing to the *French* Nobility, who had assisted at it; conjuring them, *Anastasius* says binding them, and their Poste-

(G) Though *Pepin*, says here *Baronius*, had been anointed King two Years before by *Boniface*, he did not reckon the Years of his Reign from the time of that Unction, but from the Year, in which he was anointed by the Pope, as appears from the antient Monuments of the *French* Nation (2). But that *Pepin* reckoned the Years of his Reign from the time of his Election, that is, from the Year 752. and not from the Year 754. when he was anointed King by the Pope, is undeniably evident from several of his Diplomas produced by *F. Pagi* (3), and utterly unknown to *Baronius*. As for the antient Monuments of the *French* Nation, to which the Annalist appeals, not one Historian or Annalist of that Nation ever computed the Years of *Pepin* from his Unction in the Monastery of *St. Denis*. Indeed *Charles* and *Carloman*, who were anointed together with their Father, counted, so long as he lived, the Years of their Reign from the time of that Unction; but, when he died, they thenceforth reckoned them only from the time of his Death.

*Pepin* is the first King of *France* said by any credible Historian to have received the sacred Unction. His Predecessors had been all proclaimed by being lifted up on a Shield, according to the antient Custom of the *Franks*. The anointing a King is a mere Ceremony, and gives no kind of Right to the Person anointed. But *Pepin* thought it would, in great measure, authorize his Usurpation, and render his Person sacred and respectable in the Eyes of the Multitude. The Reader will find a very particular and curious Account of this Ceremony in *Edmundus Marten*, who shews that it had obtained long before *Pepin's* time in the antient Kingdom of *Scotland*, and in *Spain* (4). As for the famous holy Phial of *Rheims*, which, we are told, was, by a Dove, brought from Heaven with Oil for the Anointing of King *Clovis*, and in which is kept the Oil the Kings of *France* are anointed with to this Day, whatever has been said of it by *Hincmar* (5), and others after him, is now universally looked upon as fabulous.

(2) Bar. ad Ann. 752. n. 6.  
752. n. 2, 3.

(3) F. Pagi, Critic. in Annal. Bar. ad Ann.  
(4) Edmund. Marten. de Antiq. Eccles. Ritib. tom. 3. c. 10.

(5) Hincmar. in vit. S. Remig.



rity, in virtue of the Authority of *St. Peter* vested in him, to maintain the Royal Dignity in the Family of *Pepin*, and to raise no other, so long as any of that Family remained, to the Throne <sup>p</sup>. But that the *French* did not think the Pope had any Power of binding them and their Posterity, or that he was to interfere at all in the Election of their Kings, appeared 235 Years after, when they deposed *Charles of Lorrain*, though descended from *Pepin*, and chose *Hugh Capet* in his room, without so much as consulting the Pope, as they had done, only with a political View, in the Election of *Pepin*.

Year of  
 Christ 754.

From *St. Denis* *Pepin* repaired to *Carasiacum*, now *Chiersi*, a royal Palace on the *Oise*, at some Distance from *Noion*, whither he was soon followed by the Pope. There the Pope had frequent Opportunities of conferring with the King; and in one of these Conferences it was agreed, that *Pepin*, whom the Pope had already persuaded to make War on the *Lombards*, should not restore the Places, that might be taken from them, to the Emperor, who alone had a Right to them, but should, for the Good of his Soul, and the Remission of his Sins, give them for ever to be freely possessed by *St. Peter*, and his Successors. Whether this Article, the giving to *St. Peter* what belonged to the Emperor, and enriching the Pope with the Spoils of the Empire, was first proposed by *Pepin*, as some suppose, or, as others will have it, by the Pope, History has not informed us; but certain it is, that if the Pope did not propose that Article, he readily agreed to it; that he extolled, and with the most flattering Commendations, the truly Royal and truly Christian Generosity of *Pepin* to *St. Peter* and his Successors; viz. his Christian Generosity in giving to them what was not his own, and what he had no Right to give; and that, not satisfied with *Pepin's* signing the Agreement, or Donation, as some Writers call it, he required his two Sons *Charles* and *Carloman*, likewise to sign it<sup>q</sup>. Thus, after the Popes had exclaimed and inveighed, for the Space of near 200 Years, against the *Lombards*, as the most wicked of Men, as Free-booters, Robbers, and Thieves, for robbing their most religious Sons, the Emperors, of their Dominions, did this holy Pope encourage and countenance others, nay, and make it a Work of great Merit, to rob them of those very Dominions, when he and his Successors were to profit by the Robbery. In this ended their boasted Zeal for the

*Pepin promises to give to St. Peter the Places he should take from the Lombards.*

<sup>p</sup> Anast. in Steph. II.

<sup>q</sup> Anast. in Hadrian. I.

Year of  
Christ 754.

Welfare of the Empire, and the indefatigable Pains they took, and cried up as so meritorious, to preserve the Dominions, that still remained to the Emperors in the West.

He resolves  
to make War  
on the Lombards.

*Pepin* had already sent a solemn Embassy to *Aistulphus*; conjuring him by their mutual Friendship, and the Regard he had for St. *Peter*, to put an End to the unjust War, in which he was engaged, and restore the Cities he had taken in the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*. But that Embassy, and another, which *Pepin* is said to have sent soon after, proving ineffectual, he resolved to recur to Arms, and make good, by that means, since he could by no other, his Engagement with the Pope. Pursuant to that Resolution he assembled the States of the Realm at *Chiersi*, where he still was, to acquaint them with the Design he had formed of making War on the King of the *Lombards* in Defence of the Pope and the *Roman* People, no less grievously than unjustly oppressed by that King and his Nation. But while the States

His Brother  
Carloman  
sent by Aistulphus  
to divert him from it.

were yet sitting, *Carloman*, the Brother of *Pepin*, who had embraced a monastic Life in the Monastery of *Monte Cassino* seven Years before<sup>r</sup>, arrived at *Chiersi*, sent by *Aistulphus*, as the most proper Person he could have chosen to defeat the Machinations of the Pope, and divert the King his Brother from undertaking out of Complaisance to him a War, in which, whether the *Lombards* prevailed in the End, or the *French*, much Christian Blood would be shed on either Side. *Carloman*, who had renounced the World, undertook this Embassy, says *Eginhardus*<sup>s</sup>, much against his Will; but he could not disobey his Abbot, nor could his Abbot disobey the King. However that be, certain it is, that he strove, to the utmost of his Power, to reconcile his Brother with the King of the *Lombards*, and prevent, by that means, the Shedding of Christian Blood, which was, in the Opinion of *Anastasius*, striving to ruin the Cause of the holy Church of God<sup>t</sup>. The Monk *Carloman*, says a *French* Historian<sup>u</sup>, pleaded the Cause of *Aistulphus* so well before the Parliament of *Crecy*, which he mistakes for *Chiersi*<sup>w</sup>, that it was resolved by the States, that an Accommodation should, by all means, be attempted between the two Nations, and a new Embassy sent to the King of the *Lombards* for that Purpose. A new Embassy was sent accordingly; but no Alteration being made in the Terms, it proved as unsuccessful as the other

<sup>r</sup> See above, p. 326.  
in Steph. II.

<sup>s</sup> Eginhard. in Annal. ad Ann. 753.

<sup>u</sup> Mezeray. Abregé Chronol. ad Ann. 754.

<sup>w</sup> Disquis. de Carisiac. l. 4. de re Diplom. p. 258.

<sup>t</sup> Anast.

<sup>v</sup> Vide Mabill.

two. The King, it seems, offered to put an End to the War, to renounce all Claim to the City and Dukedom of *Rome*, though Master of *Ravenna*, and to suffer the *Roman* People to enjoy, undisturbed, all the Rights and Privileges they had enjoyed to that Time; but he absolutely refused to restore the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*. <sup>Year of Christ 754. New Terms proposed, but not agreed to by Pepin.</sup>

These Terms appeared highly reasonable to several of the *French* Nobility; and they were for agreeing to them, and not wasting the Blood and the Treasure of the Nation to gratify the Ambition of the Pope; nay, some of them, to divert the King from his intended Expedition into *Italy*, took the Liberty to tell him, that, notwithstanding their great Attachment to his Person, and Zeal for his Glory, they would not attend him in that War \*. But the Pope, to whom *Pepin* had promised the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*, had already begun to look upon himself as a Prince, and would not be degraded from that State into the mean Condition of a Subject. He therefore warmly insisted with *Pepin*, against the Remonstrance of *Carloman* and the *French* Nobility, upon his putting him in Possession of the promised Principality, quite regardless of the Treasures or the Blood of the Nation, that was to conquer it for him. He prevailed; and *Pepin* having gained over, by his Address, such of the *French* Nobility as had opposed the *Italian* Expedition, War was resolved on, and the necessary Preparations were made throughout the Kingdom for carrying it on with the wished-for Success.

*Carloman* had Occasion to repent his taking the Part of *Aistulphus*, *Carloman*, and striving to prevent a War, that was to prove, if successful, so advantageous to the Pope and his See. For the unhappy Monk, on his Return to *Italy*, was, at the Instigation of the Pope, stopt at *Vienne* <sup>on his Return, shut up in a Monastery, where he dies.</sup> by an Order from his Brother, and there shut up in a Monastery, where he died a few Days after. *Pepin* shewed a greater Regard for him after his Death than he had done in his Life-time; for he caused his Body to be put into a Coffin of Gold, and conveyed back, attended by several Persons of Distinction, to his Monastery †. He has not, however, been canonized, though *Rachis* the Brother and Predecessor of *Aistulphus* has, who embraced a monastic Life about the same time that *Carloman* embraced it, and in the same Monastery.

War being now declared, *Pepin*, spurred on by the Pope impatient to see himself possessed of the promised Dominions, and raised

\* Eginhard. in vit. Carol. Mag.

† Anast. in Steph. II.

Year of  
Christ 754.

Pepin sets  
out on his  
March into  
Italy, attend-  
ed by the  
Pope.

Defeats the  
Lombards.

Besieges their  
King in his  
Metropolis,  
and obliges  
him to submit.

To what  
Terms he was  
obliged to  
submit.

to the Rank of a Prince, assembled his Troops from the different Parts of the Kingdom, and, heading them in Person, set out, tho' the Season was already far advanced, on his March into *Italy*. The Pope would attend the King in this Expedition to receive the Cities as fast as they were taken, and divert him from hearkening to any Terms whatever, different from those, that had already been proposed. The Army reached the *Alps* about the Middle of the Month of *September* of the present Year; but found the Passes and Defiles leading into *Italy*, all carefully guarded by numerous Bodies of the *Lombards*. However, they opened themselves a Way, Sword in Hand, with great Slaughter of the *Lombards*, who did not behave, on this Occasion, with their usual Bravery, tho' animated by the Presence of their King. *Pepin*, having thus forced the Passes, entered, without further Opposition, the Dominions of *Aistulphus*; nay, and being informed that the King, quitting the Field, had shut himself up, very unadvisedly, in *Pavia*, he bent his March strait to that City, and closely besieged him in his Metropolis; not doubting but he should thus at once put an End to the War. And truly *Aistulphus*, sensible that the City must fall at last, his Army being dispersed, and having no Person of Reputation or Abilities to head them, and that the longer he delayed to satisfy *Pepin* and the Pope, the higher they would raise their Demands, sent out, after a few Days Siege, one of his chief Lords, to treat with them of an Accommodation. He was ready to part with some of the Cities he had taken; but thought it very hard, that he should be obliged to part with them all. However, *Pepin* declaring, that he would hearken to no other Terms, and the Siege being, in the mean time, carried on with great Vigour, he was, in the End, forced to acquiesce; and a Treaty was drawn up, in virtue of which he was to deliver, not to the Emperor, as he had hitherto understood it, but to the Pope, the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*, with all the Cities, Castles, Territories, and Lands, thereunto belonging, to be for ever held and possessed by the most holy Pope *Stephen*, and his Successors in the Apostolic See of *St. Peter*. By the same Treaty *Aistulphus* was to restore all the Places he had seized in the *Roman* Dukedom; to renounce for ever all Claim to that Dukedom and City; and to live in Peace and Friendship with the Pope, the common Father both of the *French* and the *Lombards*. This Treaty *Aistulphus* signed, but with great Reluctance; and swore, as did all the Judges, and chief Men of his Kingdom, punctually to observe,

observe, giving the Number of Hostages, that was required, for the faithful Performance of the Articles it contained. The War being thus ended, *Pepin* returned, with his Army, to *France*; and the Pope, attended by the Abbot *Fulrad*, by Duke *Jerom*, a natural Son of *Charles Martel*, and others of the *French* Nobility, to *Rome* <sup>2</sup>. He was met, at some Distance from the City, by several Bishops, by the whole *Roman* Clergy, and Crouds of People; and conducted by them, with loud Acclamations, to the *Vatican*, where he returned Thanks to God and St. *Peter* for the Success of his Negotiations in *France*. When he left *Rome* he was only a Bishop, and he returned a Prince. But it cost *Pepin* another Expedition into *Italy* to put him in Possession of his Principality, as I shall soon have Occasion to relate.

Year of  
Christ 754.

While the Pope, laying aside all Spiritual Affairs, was thus wholly intent on procuring a temporal Kingdom for himself, and his Successors, at the Expence of the Empire, the good Emperor *Constantine*, having as much at Heart the Welfare of the Church, and the Purity of the Christian Worship, as the Pope had the temporal Power and Grandeur of his Sec, had appointed a General Council to meet; and it met this very Year, finally to determine the famous Controversy concerning the Use and the Worship of Images, and settle, by that means, the Church, as he had happily settled the State, in Peace and Tranquillity. This Controversy had lain dormant ever since the Time of *Gregory III.* the Emperor being diverted from attending to it by his Wars with the *Saracens*, *Bulgarians*, and other Barbarians; and the Popes deeply engaged in Affairs, that appeared to them of far greater Moment than the breaking or worshipping Images. The Emperor *Leo* had proposed the assembling a General Council to Pope *Gregory II.*; but he had rejected the Proposal with Scorn; reflecting, at the same time, with the utmost Insolence, on the Character of that excellent Prince <sup>a</sup>. *Constantine*, upon his causing the Images to be again pulled down, which the Usurper *Artabasdus* had set up in the Imperial City, had engaged his Word to the People, ready to revolt anew on that Occasion, that he would take care, when at Leisure from his Wars, to have the Question, *Whether Images were or were not to be worshiped?* fairly examined, and finally determined, by a General Council <sup>b</sup>. No sooner, there-

The Emperor  
assembles a  
General  
Council at  
Constanti-  
nople, to put  
an End to  
the Dispute  
about Images.

<sup>a</sup> Anast. ibid. Epist. Steph. ad Pepin. Secund. Append. ad Contin. Fredegar. Anna'. Laureth. Loisel. Bertinian. Regin. &c. <sup>b</sup> See above, p. 280. <sup>c</sup> See above, p. 318. in fin. not. C.

Year of  
Christ 754.

He writes  
to all the  
Metropoli-  
tans.

Synods held  
in the differ-  
ent Pro-  
vinces.

The Council  
meets in the  
the Palace of  
Hiera.

Who pre-  
sided.

fore, had he put an End to the War (and he put an End to it the preceding Year, by a Peace as honourable as the War was glorious). than, mindful of his Promise, he wrote a circular Letter to all the Metropolitans subject to the Empire, to acquaint them with the Resolution he had taken of causing the fatal Controversy, that had almost been attended with the Ruin of the Empire, to be decided by them and their Fellow-Bishops in a General Council, that no room being left for further Disputes, the Church might partake of that Peace and Tranquillity, which it had pleased Heaven to procure, by his Arms, to the State. In the same Letter he appointed the Place, where they were to meet, the Imperial Palace called *Hiera*, over-against *Constantinople*, on the *Asiatic* Shore; and the Time when they were to meet, the 10th of *February* of the following Year 754; but required them, in the mean while, to convene Synods in their respective Provinces, and examine, lest they should come unprepared, with their Suffragans, what might be alleged against, and what urged in favour of the Points in Dispute <sup>c</sup>.

In virtue of this Letter, provincial Synods were held throughout the Empire; and the Bishops repairing from them to *Constantinople*, met, at the appointed time, in the Palace of *Hiera*, to the Number of 338; the greatest Number of Bishops that had ever yet met at a General Council. The Honour of presiding was due to the Patriarch of the Imperial City; but *Anastasius* dying a few Days before, the Emperor wisely declined naming another, lest the Person he named should be looked upon as his Creature, and thought to act as instructed or directed by him. Two Bishops, therefore, of Rank, *Theodosius* Exarch of all *Asia*, and *Pastillus* Bishop of *Perga*, and Metropolitan of *Pamphylia*, were appointed, whether by the Council or the Emperor History does not inform us, to supply the Place of the Patriarch <sup>d</sup>. We shall see in the Sequel the Empress *Irene* acting in a very different manner on Occasion of the second Council of *Nice*. For the Patriarch *Paul*, who was no Friend to Images, dying before the Council met, she caused *Tarasius* her Secretary, a Man of great Art and Address, and entirely devoted to her, to be raised at once from the State of a Layman and a cringing Courtier to the Patriarchal Dignity, that he might preside under her in that Council. And yet, if we believe the Popish Writers, nothing was done unfairly in

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 318. in fin. not. C.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Theop. ad Ann. 13. Constantin.

the Council of *Nice*, and nothing done fairly in the Council of *Constantinople* (H). Year of  
Christ 754.

As for the Acts of this Council, they were suppressed; and so were all other Writings against Images, by a Decree of the second Council of *Nice*. However, from the Parts of those Acts, which the *Nicene* Fathers chose to confute, and preserved, as it were, for their Triumph, it appears, that the three hundred and thirty-eight Bishops condemned, and condemned with one Voice, the Use of Images in Places of Worship as well as the Worship; the Use, as a Custom borrowed of the idolatrous Nations, as repugnant to the Practice of the purer Ages of the Church, as no-ways necessary, as dangerous, or exposing those, who used them, to the Danger of Idolatry; and the Worship, as expressly forbidden by God, and rank Idolatry, the very Idolatry, which the Heathens were charged with by the Fathers. To make good what they advanced against the Use of Images, they alleged several Passages out of the Fathers, but chiefly urged the following three; the first from *Epiphanius* speaking thus to the Christians of his Time: *Take heed you bring no Images into the Churches, or the Cæmeteries of the Saints, nor yet into your Houses; for it is not lawful for a Christian to wander after them with his Eyes*; the other from *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, saying, *We care not to paint in Colours the Persons of the Saints, having no need of them; but we should make it our Business to imitate their Virtues*; and the third from *Theodotus* of *Ancyra*, saying, *We Christians have not the coloured Images of the Saints, but we imitate their Virtues as their living Images*. The Council condemns both the Worship and the Use of Images.

The Fathers of *Constantinople* added, that if the Use of Images had obtained among the primitive Christians, they would not have condemned, as it appears from their Writings they did, the Use of Images in general, but confined their Arguments against them to the Images of the Pagans. Reasons alleged against the Use of Images.

In Opposition to the Fathers of *Constantinople* those of *Nice* undertook to prove, that the Use of Images had obtained in the Church from the earliest Times, from the Times of our Saviour and his Apostles. But in favour of that, as they called it, Apostolical Tradition, they could only allege, besides the Statue at *Paneas*, and the Picture, which our Saviour is supposed to have sent of himself to the How answered by the Fathers of Nice.

(H) It was called the Council of *Constantinople*, because the Fathers adjourned, as the Church of *St. Mary ad Blachernas* in *Constantinople*, and there issued their Definition and Decrees.

King.

Year of  
Christ 754.

King of *Edessa* c, the Practice of the fourth Century, and the 82d Canon of the *Quini-sex* Council held in 691. allowing Christ, who had been painted till that time in the Figure of a Lamb, to be thenceforth represented in the Shape of a Man. And thus they proved the Use of Images in the Church ever since the Apostles Time. As to the Passages out of the Works of the Fathers, they pretended that *Amphilochius* meant no more, than that we ought not to be satisfied with the Images of the Saints, but should besides imitate their Virtues. The other two Passages they did not pretend to explain, but declared them at once supposititious, and maliciously inserted by the Heretics into the Works of these holy Men to authorize their Herefy. As both Passages are unquestionably genuine, *Du Pin* wishes the good Fathers had thought of a better Answer to them. But what better Answer could they have thought of or given to the Prohibition at least of *Epiphanius*, *Take heed you bring no Images into the Churches?* The School-Distinctions, by means of which this and all other Passages are now eluded, were not yet coined.

Images de-  
clared an In-  
vention of  
the Devil.

The Fathers of *Constantinople*, not satisfied with condemning all Images, as unnecessary, as hurtful, as dangerous, declared them, in one of their Sessions, an *Invention of the Devil*, who, envying the Happiness of Mankind delivered by the Son of God from Idolatry, had, by their means, introduced Idolatry anew, in the Disguise and under the Name of Christianity. This the *Nicene* Fathers answered only with Exclamations, Reproaches, and Injuries; calling those who had thus dared to defame the immaculate Church, Heretics, and worse than Heretics, *Jews*, Apostates, Blasphemers of God, and his holy Institutions and Doctrine. And yet the Council of *Constantinople*, in calling Images an *Invention of the Devil*, only repeated what some of the most eminent Fathers of the Church had said several hundred Years before. *The Devil*, says *Tertullian*, *brought the Makers of Statues and Images into the World* f. *Evil Angels taught Men to make Images: The Invention of Images was an Invention of the Devil, or of Men actuated by the Devil*, say *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius* g.

Reasons al-  
leged against  
the Worship  
of Images.

Against the Worship of Images were alleged, by the Council of *Constantinople*, several Passages out of the Old and New Testament; but they chiefly insisted on the second Commandment, by which we

\* See above, p. 203. 207.

f Tertull. de Idol. c. 2.  
Evang. l. 4. c. 16. Epiph. Hæres. 79.

g Euseb. de Præpar.



are, in as plain and expreſs Terms, forbidden to make graven Images, <sup>Year of</sup> to bow down to them, or worship them, as we are forbidden by the <sup>Chriſt 754.</sup> other Commandments to commit Theft, Murder, or Adultery. This Commandment, they ſaid, our Saviour had not abrogated, but enforced; commanding us to *worship in Spirit and in Truth*. To the Texts of Scripture they added the Testimonies of the Fathers, with whom Worshipers of Images and Idolaters were ſynonymous Terms; concluding from thence, that all Images, without Diſtinction, that were worshiped, or made to be worshiped, were Idols; and all, who worshiped them, guilty of Idolatry. The Fathers of *Nice* answered, <sup>How eluded</sup> that they only were guilty of Idolatry, who worshiped Devils, or the <sup>by the Fa-</sup> Sun, Moon, and Stars, with Beasts, and Birds, and creeping Things, <sup>thers of Nice.</sup> and worshiped them, or their Images, as Gods; which was absolving not only themselves, but the whole Pagan World, from the Guilt of Idolatry, as has been shewn above <sup>h</sup>. However, thus the good Fathers understood and explained all the Texts from Scripture against Images, and likewise the second Commandment, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image*, to worship it as the Maker of the Heaven and the Earth; *thou shalt not bow down to Images* as the Makers of all Things, and of the very Man who made them; *nor worship them* as such; as if there could have been Occasion for such a Prohibition, or the second Commandment had been made only for Fools and Idiots (H).

But on no one thing did the Fathers of *Nice* lay greater Stress, <sup>Christians</sup> in clearing, against the Fathers of *Constantinople*, the Worshipers of <sup>may relapse</sup> Images from all Idolatry, than on the following Notion, quite peculiar to themselves; *viz.* that after Christ had once redeemed Christians from Idolatry, it was impossible they should ever relapse into <sup>into Idolatry.</sup>

<sup>h</sup> See above, p. 215.

(H) Had God intended to forbid the Worship of all Images without Diſtinction, I should be glad to know with what more significant and comprehensive Words he could have expreſſed his Mind, than those of the second Commandment, *Thou shalt not make to thyself ANY graven Images*, any at all. Are the Words, *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*, more comprehensive or significant? As to the Diſtinction of *absolute and relative Worship*, now used in the Schools to elude the Law, *Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them*, it is quite impertinent; for whether the Worship be *absolute* or *relative*, it is *Worship*; and whether it be the one or the other, they *bow down to them*.

Year of  
Christ 754.

that Crime. This they gathered from God's promising to *blot out the Names of Idols from under the Heaven*<sup>i</sup>, from his Kingdom being an *everlasting Kingdom*<sup>k</sup>; from his *Gifts being without Repentance*<sup>l</sup>; and from his *smiting his Enemies in the hinder Parts, and putting them to perpetual Shame*<sup>m</sup>; which one would think had no Relation to Idolatry, or to Images. But St. Paul did not think it impossible that Christians redeemed from Idolatry should relapse into that Crime; nor did St. John; since the one exhorted the Christians of *Corinth* to *flee from Idolatry*<sup>n</sup>; and the other the Christians in general to *keep themselves from Idols*<sup>o</sup>. These two Apostles were, according to the *divinely inspired* Divines of Nice, arrant Triflers; exhorting Men to *flee*, and *keep themselves* from a Crime, which they could not possibly commit. But abstracting from Scripture, from Reason, from daily Experience, I should be glad to know how the pretended Impossibility of relapsing into Idolatry can be reconciled with the Charge of Idolatry, brought by those good Fathers themselves against the *Arians* for worshipping Christ, whom they believed to be but a mere Creature! Were the *Arians*, worshipping the most perfect of all Creatures, guilty of Idolatry, notwithstanding God's Promise to *blot out the Names of Idols from under the Heaven*; and they not guilty of Idolatry in worshipping the meanest of all Creatures, the Works of Mens Hands?

The Council  
adjourns to  
Constanti-  
nople.

But to return to the Council of *Constantinople*; the Fathers of that Assembly continued their Sessions, without Interruption, from the 10th of *February* to the 7th of *August*, examining, as they declared, and re-examining, with the greatest Care and Attention, the Question, for the determining of which it had pleased their most religious Emperors, *Constantine* and *Leo* (I), to call them together. But on the 7th of *August* they adjourned from the Palace of *Hiera* to the Basilic of St. *Mary ad. Blachernas* in *Constantinople*, to issue there, as in a more proper Place, the Decree of Faith, which they had all, not one excepted, agreed to, and which they were all, not one excepted, ready to sign. The Emperor attended them in Person

<sup>i</sup> Zach. xiii.

<sup>k</sup> Psal. cxv.

<sup>l</sup> Rom. xi.

<sup>m</sup> Psal. lxxviii.

<sup>n</sup> I Corinth. x. 14.

<sup>o</sup> I John v. 21.

(I) *Constantine* took his Son *Leo* for his Partner in the Empire when he was not yet a Year and a Half old. He was born on the 25th of *January* 750. and solemnly crowned by the Patriarch *Anastafius* on *Whitsunday* the following Year.

with

with the great Officers of State, and all the Nobility; and when the Bishops had taken their Places, according to their different Ranks, in the above-mentioned Basilic, he named, at last, after a short Speech to the Assembly (of which not a single Word has been suffered to reach our Times), a new Patriarch in the room of *Anastasius*. The Person he promoted to that Dignity was *Constantine*, by Profession a Monk, and Bishop of *Sylleam* in *Pamphylia*; and his Promotion was received by all with the greatest Applause (K). And now the Exarch of *Asia*, and the Metropolitans of *Pamphylia*, who had hitherto presided, yielding their Place to the new œcumenical Patriarch, as they styled him, the Emperor, addressing himself, with great Respect, to the Bishops, desired they would cause the Determinations of that holy and œcumenical Council to be read so as to be heard by all, who were present.

Year of  
Christ 754.

A new Pa-  
triarch ap-  
pointed.

They were read accordingly, after a Preamble of some Length, giving an Account of the Rise and Progress of the new Idolatry; of the Arts used by the Contriver of all Mischief to seduce Mankind to worship the Creature besides the Creator; and of the Motives, that had induced the Council to put a Stop to that Worship. Next to the Preamble was read the Decree of Faith, and after it the Canons. The Decree of Faith was as follows; "The holy and œcumenical Council, which it has pleased our most orthodox Emperors *Constantine* and *Leo* to assemble in the Church of *St. Mary ad Bla-*

The Decree of  
Faith issued  
by the  
Council.

(K) *Baronius*, *Maimburg*, *Natalis Alexander*, and other such Writers, paint the new Patriarch in the blackest Colours; telling us, from the lying Acts of the pretended Martyr *Stephen the younger*, that he had abandoned himself, from his Youth, without Shame or Remorse, to all manner of Wickedness, and had been driven from his See for his Lewdness and Debauchery. But as the contemporary Historians, tho' all his sworn Enemies, take not the least Notice of his debauched and profligate Life, nor of his having ever been driven from his See, we may well conclude the Compiler of the above-mentioned Acts to have been an Impostor and Liar, and *Constantine*, tho' a Monk, a Man of a most unblemished Character, and ex-

emplary Life. Indeed the Emperor was too wise a Prince to have preferred one, at this Juncture, to the Patriarchal See of the Imperial City, whose scandalous Life might have prejudiced the World against his Council, and lessened its Authority. The Author of those Acts inveighs with great Bitterness against the Emperor for presuming to appoint a Patriarch, which his Predecessors had all done, or any-ways concerning himself with the Affairs of the Church, when he had spent all his Life in slaughtering Men, the Saracens, and other Barbarians, who broke into the Empire, and had most wickedly defiled himself with no fewer than three Women, all three his lawful Wives (1).

(1) Apud Bar. ad Ann. 754.

Year of  
Christ 754.

“ *chernas*, in the Imperial City, adhering to the Word of God, to  
“ the Definitions of the six preceding Councils, to the Doctrine  
“ of the approved Fathers, and the Practice of the Church in the  
“ earliest Times, pronounce and declare, in the Name of the Tri-  
“ nity, and with one Heart and Mind, that no Images are to be  
“ worshiped; that to worship them, or any other Creature, is rob-  
“ bing God of the Honour that is due to him alone, and relapsing  
“ into Idolatry. Whoever, therefore, shall henceforth presume to  
“ worship Images, to set them up in the Churches, or in private  
“ Houses, or to conceal them, shall be degraded, if a Bishop, a Priest,  
“ or a Deacon; and if a Monk, or a Layman, excommunicated, and  
“ punished, as guilty of a Breach of God’s express Command, and  
“ the Imperial Laws; that is, of the very severe Laws issued by the  
“ Christian Emperors against the Worshipers of Idols.” By the  
The Canons. Canons were anathematized, I. All Makers of Images, whether those  
Images were designed to represent the Godhead, and Christ according  
to his Human Nature (L), or only the Virgin *Mary*, and the other  
Saints. II. All, who did not confess the Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of  
God, to be above all visible and invisible Creatures. III. Such as did  
not confess the Saints, who before the Law, and under the Law, had  
pleased God, to be honourable in his Sight. They added here, that

(L) Besides the Reasons they alleged against Images in general, they urged one against the Images of Christ in particular; viz. that they were false Representations, and *Teachers of Lyes* (2), representing Christ only as a Man, whereas he was both God and Man; the very Reason why it was not thought lawful, till so late as the latter End of the 7th Century, to paint Christ in the Form of a Man (3). They added, as we are informed by the Fathers of *Nice*, who undertook to confute them, that to paint Christ in the Shape of a Man, was to commend Arius and Nestorius. Arius held, as is well known, Christ to be a mere Man; on the other hand, Nestorius owned the Divinity indeed to be present in, but would not allow it to be hypostatically united to, his Humanity; calling him *Homo deiferus*, and not *Homo-Deus*. Now the Fathers of *Constantinople* forbade, perhaps, the Images of Christ in the Form of a Man, because they coun-

tenanced, in their Opinion, the Error of Arius, by representing him only as a Man; and the Error of Nestorius, by representing his Humanity separated from his Divinity. But they had better have kept to the Reasons alleged above, if that was their true Meaning; and what else they could have meant saying, that to paint Christ in the Form of a Man, was to commend Arius and Nestorius, I cannot conceive. The Answer of the Fathers of *Nice* to this Argument was as impertinent as the Argument itself; viz. that as the Image of a Man may represent him truly, tho’ it does not represent his Soul, so may the Image of Christ represent him truly, tho’ it does not represent his Divinity. For the Image of a Man, if it represents him living, represents, in some manner, his Soul; but the Image of Christ, in the Form of a Man, does, in no manner at all, represent his Divinity.

(2) Hab. ii. 18.

(3) See above, p. 154.

the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints interceded, according to the Tradition of the Church, for the World : Whence some have concluded, that they confessed the Invocation of Saints ; not aware of the Difference (and it is strange they should not be aware of it ; for it is wide enough) between *the Saints praying for us*, and *our praying to them*.

Year of  
Christ 754.

IV. All were anathematized, who did not hold and profess the Doctrine delivered in the holy Scriptures, concerning the Fall of Man, the ineffable Mystery of the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Eternity of Rewards and Punishments ; and lastly, all, who did not receive that *sacred and universal seventh Synod* ; or should presume to propose, teach, or deliver, another Faith ; or introduce new Words, or new-coined Distinctions (of *absolute* and *relative* Worship, of *supreme* and *inferior*, of *Latria*, *Dulia*, and *Hyperdulia*, &c.), to elude or subvert the Determinations of the present holy and œcumenical Synod.

The Definition of Faith and the Canons being thus publicly read, the Emperor, addressing himself to the Assembly, desired the holy universal Synod freely to declare whether they all agreed to the Determinations they had heard. The Bishops answered with one Voice, *The Decree, and the Canons, issued with one Consent.*

*We all thus believe ; we are all of the same Mind ; we all unanimously and freely subscribe ; we all worship and adore the Spiritual Deity in a spiritual Manner : This is the Faith of the Apostles ; this is the Faith of the Fathers ; this is the Faith of all truly Orthodox ; thus all worship, who worship in Spirit and in Truth : Long live the most religious and orthodox Emperors Constantine and Leo : Anathema to Germanus, a Worshiper of wooden Gods ; Anathema to George, who agrees with him, and falsifies the Doctrine of the Fathers ; Anathema to Mansur (or Damascene), a Worshiper of Images, and a Writer of Fables. Confounded be all they that serve graven Images (M).* The Decree of Faith was signed, and so were the Canons, by both Emperors, and all the Bishops to a Man ; who, returning to their Sees, as soon as they had signed them, caused them to be observed in their respective Dioceses and

(M) *Germanus* was heretofore Bishop of *Constantinople*, and a most zealous Stickler, as we have seen, for the Worship of Images. *George* is supposed by some to have been a Bishop ; and by others, to have been only a Monk. But he must have distinguished himself, whether a Monk or Bishop, above all his

Brethren, by his Zeal in maintaining the Worship of Images, and falsifying, with that pious View, the Writings of the Fathers. As for *Mansur* or *Damascene*, we need but dip into his Works to be convinced that he was, as the Council styles him, a *Writer of Fables*.

Provinces,

Year of  
Christ 754.

*The Worship  
of Images  
suppressed in  
the East.*

*The Council  
of Constantinople a  
lawful œcumenical  
Council.*

Provinces, as they had been enjoined by the Emperor, with the utmost Strictness and Rigour. And thus was the new Idolatry, as it was stiled, condemned at last in a General Council; and the Images, that gave Occasion to it, banished from the Churches, as well as from the private Oratories and Houses, all over the East. All, but the Monks, readily submitted to the Decision of the Council. They, indeed, opposed it; and it concerned them as nearly to oppose it, as it concerned the Craftsmen of *Ephesus* to oppose the Doctrine of *Sr. Paul*. But of their unwarrantable and wicked Attempts to maintain the condemned Superstition in Defiance of the Decisions of the Council, and the Imperial Laws, as well as of the severe Treatment they deservedly met with, on that Score, from the Emperor and his Officers, I shall have Occasion to speak in the next Volume.

As all General Councils are believed in the Church of *Rome* infallible, this Council, we may be sure, has not been received by that Church as a General Council. But that it has as good a Right to that Title as any of the six preceding Councils, may be easily demonstrated. For, I. It was convened, as were all the other Councils, by the Emperor; and, consequently, lawfully convened. II. It was the most numerous Council, that had been yet held in the Church; consisting of three hundred and thirty-eight Bishops; whereas at the first Council of *Nice*, far exceeding in Number all the rest, assisted only three hundred and eighteen. III. The Fathers allowed themselves the Time, that was necessary to examine thoroughly and leisurely the Question; a Question of infinite Moment, which they had been called together to decide; continuing their Sessions from the 10th of *February* to the 7th of *August*. The *second holy, general, and divinely inspired* Council of *Nice* did not proceed with such Deliberation and Maturity, nor employ the sixth Part of the Time in examining the same Question, if they may be said to have examined it at all; for they met on the 24th of *September*, and all was over by the 12th of the following *October*. IV. In the Council of *Constantinople* the Debates were entirely free; no Man being required, either in the Council, or before it, to speak or to vote the one way or the other. The Emperor not only declined, as has been said, appointing a Patriarch, whose Authority would have been of great Weight with the Fathers of the Council, but would not appear amongst them himself till the Points in Debate were finally determined, lest he should awe or bias them to either Side with his Presence. On the

other hand, none were allowed a Place in the packt Assembly of *Nice*, as we may justly stile it, who did not declare beforehand for the Doctrine they intended to establish, the Lawfulness of Image-worship, or, having, at any time, held the opposite Opinion, did not solemnly abjure it. V. The Bishops of *Constantinople*, tho' in every respect free, agreed, not one out of the three hundred thirty-eight dissenting from the rest, to condemn, *with one Heart, and one Mind*, the Use as well as the Worship of Images, and anathematize all, who either worshiped them, or used them in their Worship. In what other Council did such Harmony reign among the Bishops who composed it? VI. They did not ground the Doctrine they defined upon silly, absurd, childish, and impertinent Reasons, as they are called by *Baronius*, *Maimburg*, *Natalis Alexander*, but upon the Authority of Scripture, as understood and explained by the Fathers of the Church, by the Councils, and the Christians of the primitive Times; introducing thereby anew the Use of that long unfashionable and antiquated Book. In short, they grounded their Doctrine on Reasons, which the good Fathers of *Nice* had better have suppressed, as they did all other Writings against Images, than offered to answer. VII. They received the six preceding General Councils, confirmed the Doctrine which they had defined, and condemned the Heresies and Heretics, that they had condemned. Lastly, They ascertained, in the manner we have seen, the Honour, that is due to the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints, at the same time that they ordered their Images to be cast out of the Churches, and destroyed; nay, and to prevent even the sacred Utensils from being, on this Occasion, any-ways profaned or abused, they strictly forbade any Person whatever to lay Hands on them under colour of demolishing Images, or remove them out of the Churches or Vestries, without the Approbation and Consent of the Universal Patriarch, and an Order from the Emperor. They have been therefore very unjustly charged, as even *Natalis Alexander* has been ingenuous enough to own, by *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, and *Maimburg*, with Irreligion and Profaneness°. To conclude, no Council held yet in the Church does deserve, if this does not, the Title of a *General or Oecumenical Council*.

But the Pope, say the Advocates for Image-worship, did not assist at this Council, either in Person, or by his Legates; nor did the three Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, nor any of

° Natal. Alex. Secul. VIII. p. 665.

Year of  
Christ 754.

A Council  
may be law-  
ful without  
the Pope;

And without  
the other Pa-  
triarchs.

The Pope  
how employed  
at this time.

them. But neither did Pope *Damasus* assist, either in Person, or by his Legates, at the first Council of *Constantinople* assembled by the Emperor *Theodosius* <sup>p</sup>; nor did Pope *Vigilius* at the second <sup>q</sup>, convened by the Emperor *Justinian*; nay, *Theodoret* assures us, in two different Places<sup>r</sup>, that the first consisted of the Eastern Bishops only; and as to the second, it was held not only in the Absence, but against the Will, of *Vigilius* <sup>s</sup>. And yet both these Councils were received by the whole Catholic Church; have been approved by all the Popes, who have governed the *Roman* Church from those Times to the present; and are ranked, by all the *Roman* Catholic Divines, among the infallible, lawful, and œcumenical Councils. And hence it evidently follows, that a Council may be lawful and œcumenical, may determine and define, censure and condemn, tho' held in the Absence, nay, and against the Will of the Pope. As for the three above-mentioned Patriarchs, they were prevented by the *Saracens*, to whom they were subject, from assisting at this, or even, as shall be shewn hereafter, at the second Council of *Nice*, which, however, is received in the Church of *Rome* as an œcumenical and lawful Council. To conclude, for no other Reason has that Church condemned and rejected the present Council, but because it condemned and rejected her Doctrine; the very Reason why the *Arians* condemned, and condemn to this Day, the first Council of *Nice*; why the *Macedonians* condemned the first of *Constantinople*; the *Nestorians* that of *Ephesus*; the *Eutychians* the Council of *Chalcedon*; the Defenders of the three Chapters, the second; and the *Monothelites* the third Council of *Constantinople*.

Of this Council, and its whole Proceedings, a full Account was immediately transmitted to the Pope by his Emissaries in those Parts, the Monks. But *Stephen* was, at this time, too much taken up with temporal Affairs to mind those of the Church; and more concerned to rob the Emperor of his Dominions in the West, than to oppose the Heresy, as it was called, which he was striving to establish in the East. He had begun to take upon him the Port and State of a Prince; but found himself, to his great Mortification and Disappointment, still a mere Bishop; and could not, under so grievous and unexpected a Disappointment, attend to Disputes of Religion, especially to so trifling a Dispute as that about Images, whether it was or was not Idolatry, and a Breach of the second Commandment, to worship them. *Aistulphus*

<sup>p</sup> See Vol. I. p. 220.  
<sup>q</sup> See Vol. II. p. 339.

<sup>r</sup> Theodoret, l. 5. c. 2.

<sup>s</sup> See the Life of that Pop., Vol. II. p. 396. et seq.



had signed, as we have seen, but much against his Will, the Treaty of *Pavia*; in virtue of which Treaty, he was to deliver up to the Pope all the Places he had taken from the Emperor. As those Places were not to be restored to the Emperor, the King thought, that he, who had taken them at the Expence of the Blood and Treasure of his Nation, had a better Right to them than the Pope, who founded his whole Claim to them on the Donation of one, who had no Right to dispose of them, if he himself had no Right, and the Pope had told him he had none, to keep them. Having therefore, under various Pretences, put off, for some time, the Execution of the above-mentioned Treaty, and, in the mean while, recruited his Army underhand, he unexpectedly broke into the *Roman* Dukedom, resolved to renew the War at all Events; and, instead of parting with the Places he had taken, to seize on those he had not taken. Of this the Pope gave immediate Notice to *Pepin* in a long Letter, which he delivered to the Abbot *Fulrad*, who had attended him to *Rome*, and was then returning to *France*.

Year of  
Christ 754.

*Aistulphus*  
renews the  
War.

“ To defend the Church, says the Pope in that Letter, is, of all Works, the most meritorious; and that, to which is reserved the greatest Reward in the World to come. God might himself have defended his Church, or raised up others to ascertain and defend the just Rights of his Apostle *St. Peter*. But it pleased him to chuse you, my most excellent Son, out of the whole human Race, for that holy Purpose. For it was in Compliance with his divine Inspiration and Command, that I applied to you, that I came into your Kingdom, that I exhorted you to espouse the Cause of his beloved Apostle, and your great Protector, *St. Peter*. You espoused his Cause accordingly; and your Zeal for his Honour was quickly rewarded with a signal and miraculous Victory. But *St. Peter*, my most excellent Son, has not yet reaped the least Advantage from so glorious a Victory, tho’ owing entirely to him. The perfidious and wicked *Aistulphus* has not yet yielded to him one Foot of Ground; nay, unmindful of his Oath, and actuated by the Devil, he has begun Hostilities anew, and, bidding Defiance both to you and *St. Peter*, threatens us, and the whole *Roman* People, with Death and Destruction, as the Abbot *Fulrad* and his Companions will inform you.” The rest of the Pope’s Letter consists chiefly of repeated Invectives against *Aistulphus* as a sworn Enemy to *St. Peter*, and repeated Commendations of *Pepin*, his two Sons, and the whole *French* Nation, as the chief Friends and Favourites of that Apostle.

The Pope’s  
Letter to  
*Pepin* on that  
Occasion.

Year of  
Christ 754.

In the End he puts *Pepin*, and likewise his two Sons, in mind of the Promise they had made to the Door-keeper of Heaven; tells them, that the Prince of the Apostles himself kept the Instrument of their Donation; that it had been delivered into the Apostle's own Hands; and that he held it tight to produce it, at the last Day, for their Punishment, if it was not executed; and for their Reward, if it was; and therefore conjures them by the living God, by the Virgin *Mary*, by all the Angels of Heaven, by St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and the tremendous Day of Judgment, to cause St. *Peter* to be put in Possession of all the Places named in the Donation; and to be put in Possession of them all, and every one of them, without further Delay, without any Excuses whatever; lest by excusing others they should themselves become inexcusable; and be, in the End, eternally damned <sup>t</sup>.

*Aistulphus*  
lays close  
Siege to  
Rome.  
Year of  
Christ 755.

In the mean time *Aistulphus*, advancing to *Rome*, encamped on the first Day of *January*, with his Army divided into several Bodies, before the different Gates of that City, and closely besieged it. As he was provoked, beyond all measure, against the Pope, who had not only stirred up the *French* to invade his Dominions, but now claimed the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis* for himself, after he had threatened him with Vengeance from Heaven, as guilty of the greatest Injustice in not restoring them to his most religious Son the Emperor, who alone had a Right to them, he sent, on his first Arrival, one of his Officers into the City to assure the Inhabitants, that he came not as an Enemy to them, but only to the Pope; that if they consented to deliver him up, they should be treated with the greatest Humanity; but if they refused, he would level their Walls with the Ground, and put them all, without Mercy, to the Sword. To this Message, the *Romans*, who were not yet become that dastardly Crew they are now, returned Answer, That the Pope was their common Father; that they would stand by him to the last Drop of their Blood; and that the brave King of the *Lombards* might, if he prevailed in the End, put the Women and Children to the Sword; but, as to the Men, they were all determined to die on the Walls before he set Foot in the City. The King, provoked at this Answer, began to batter the Walls on all Sides with the utmost Fury; sending out Parties, at the same time, to ravage the neighbouring Country, to carry off the Inhabitants, with all their Effects, and set Fire to

<sup>t</sup> Cod. Carolin. Ep. 7.

their

their Houses; insomuch that the Country all round appeared in a Flame; and the Shrieks of the Women carried into Captivity were heard in the City. However, the *Romans*, encouraged by the Pope, and not doubting but the *French* would fly to their Relief, as soon as they could be acquainted with their Distress, defended the Walls with incredible Bravery, repulsed the Enemy in their repeated Attacks, repaired the Breaches, and, sallying frequently out, destroyed the Works of the Aggressors, and set Fire to their Engines. They were commonly headed by a *French* Abbot named *Warner*; who, arming himself with a Breast-plate for the Love of St. *Peter*, says the Pope in one of his Letters, fought like a good Soldier of Christ; never quitting the Walls by Day, nor by Night.

The Pope had, from the time the City was first invested, tried all means of getting a Letter conveyed to *Pepin*, his only Protector and Refuge. But the Town was so closely besieged on all Sides, and the Passes so carefully guarded, that none could come in or go out. However, private Intelligence being given him on the fifty-fifth Day of the Siege, that a Vessel, then on the Coast, was ready to sail for *France*, the Abbot *Warner*, a Bishop named *George*, and Count *Thomeric*, venturing over the Walls in the Dead of the Night, had the good Luck to avoid the Enemy's Centries, and get undiscovered to the Vessel, which put immediately to Sea, and landed them safe in the Dominions of *Pepin*. They were charged with a Letter from the Pope, written in his own Name, and the Name of the whole *Roman* People; and addressed to *Pepin*, to his two Sons *Charles* and *Carloman*, whom he styles Kings, and *Roman* Patricians, to all the Bishops, Abbots, Presbyters, Monks, Dukes, Counts, and the whole *French* Army. The Pope begins his Letter with a most pathetic Account of the deplorable Condition to which he and the peculiar People of St. *Peter* were reduced; and a Detail, exaggerated beyond all measure, of the Cruelties practised upon that unhappy People by the perfidious *Aistulphus* and his *Lombards*, all alike possessed with, and instigated by the Devil; I say, *exaggerated beyond all measure*; for that the *Lombards*, not satisfied with burning the Houses, rooting up the Vineyards, cutting down the Trees, destroying the Corn, carrying off the Cattle, plundering the Churches, and setting Fire to them, should, besides, have sacrilegiously abused, being good Catholics, the most sacred Things, even the holy Eucharist, cruelly butchered all the Tenants of St. *Peter*, and the *Romans*, Men and Women, ravished

Year of  
Christ 755.

visited the Nuns, whipped the Monks almost to Death, debauched the married Women, and, tearing their Children from them, dashed out their Brains before their Mothers Eyes, and then murdered them too, is altogether incredible. The *Lombards* were a warlike, but not a cruel People; and *Anastasius* only charges them, in his Account of the present Siege, with having laid waste the neighbouring Country, and carried off many Bodies of Saints dug up in the *Cæmeteries* <sup>u</sup>. But the Pope wanted, not only to move the *French* Nation to Compassion for himself and the *Romans*, but to inflame them against the *Lombards*; and thought it lawful, perhaps meritorious, to exaggerate, that is, to lye, for so holy a Purpose. The rest of the Letter, which seems to have been written in a great Hurry, consists of Prayers, Entreaties, Promises, Menaces, all blended together, and the Burden of every Period. *Baronius* compares him to a Woman in Labour crying out for Help <sup>w</sup>. Indeed no Woman in that Condition ever betrayed more Anxiety, or, being destitute of all Relief, ever craved it more earnestly. He entreats over and over again, and conjures the King and the *French* Nation, the first and the greatest of all Nations, the most religious of all Nations, and the Nation favoured above all other Nations by God, nay, and by the Door-keeper of Heaven, to complete the Work they have begun, the great Work, and of all Works the most meritorious, that of redeeming the Church of God, and the Flock of St. *Peter*, from imminent Ruin and Destruction; promises them Prosperity and Success in all their Undertakings, Victories, Conquests, Triumphs over all their Enemies in this World, and, by the Intercession of St. *Peter*, a great, unconceivably great, and everlasting Reward, in the other, if they suffer not those to be confounded, who, after God, have placed all their Confidence in them; threatens them with the Wrath of Heaven, with the Indignation of St. *Peter*, with all the Calamities that can befall, in this World, a faithless People, and eternal Damnation in the World to come, if unmindful of their Engagements, they leave imperfect, or abandon the Work, which they have been chosen by God, out of all the Nations of the Earth, to complete; and concludes with entreating, and most earnestly pressing them anew, as they expected to hear it said to them on the last Day, *Come, ye Blessed of my Father*, not only to come, but to come without Delay, to

<sup>u</sup> Anast. in Steph. II.

<sup>w</sup> Bar. ad Ann. 755. p. 231.

hasten with all possible Speed, to fly to the Relief of the Distressed beyond Expression, forsaken, and, but for the Trust they put in them, despairing Flock of St. *Peter*, lest the Enemy, who seeks their Destruction, and thirsts after their Blood, should, in the mean time, prevail, and they be deprived of their Reward, the Kingdom of Heaven \*. It is to be observed, that the Pope, in both his Letters, by St. *Peter*, means himself; by the Church, the Catholic, the Apostolic Church, the Temporalities of the *Roman* Church; and, by the Flock of St. *Peter*, the rebellious People of *Rome*; as if the rest of the World had nothing to do with St. *Peter*, nor St. *Peter* with them.

Year of  
Christ 755.

As the *Lombards* carried on the Siege with great Vigour, and the Town, if not relieved, could not hold out much longer, the Pope, who had yet received no Intelligence of the March of the *French Army*, began to apprehend that his Letters had made little or no Impression on the Mind of the King. Under this Apprehension, and in imminent Danger of falling into the Hands of his avowed Enemies, he bethought himself of an Artifice; of which there is not, says *Pagi*, nor perhaps will there ever be another Instance, in the whole History of the Popes. He had already employed all the Motives he could think of to move his Protectors to Compassion, but, as he feared, to no effect. Instead, therefore, of urging the same Motives again, he resolved to introduce St. *Peter* himself as urging them; persuaded, that tho' the *French King* and Nation had, perhaps, withstood his Entreaties, Promises, and Threats, they would scarce withstand those of that Apostle. He dispatched, accordingly, a Messenger into *France*, as sent by St. *Peter*, with a Letter written by him. The Direction of the Letter was; SIMON PETER, a *Servant and Apostle of Jesus Christ*, to the three most excellent Kings, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman; to all the holy Bishops, Abbots, Presbyters, and Monks; to all the Dukes, Counts, Commanders of the *FRENCH Army*, and to the whole People of *FRANCE*: Grace unto you, and Peace be multiplied. The Letter begins thus; "I am the Apostle Peter, to whom it was said, THOU ART PETER, AND UPON THIS ROCK, &c. FEED MY SHEEP, &c. AND TO THEE WILL I GIVE THE KEYS, &c. As this was all said to me in particular (here St. *Peter*, by the way, contradicts all the Fathers and the four Evangelists y), all, who hearken to

Writes to  
Pepin and  
the French  
Nation, in  
the Name of  
St. Peter.

St. Peter's  
Letter.

\* Epist. 6 Cod. Carol. tom. 6. Concil. p. 1663. & apud Bar. ad Ann. 755. p. 229, et seq. y See Vol. II. p. 516. note A.

Year of  
Christ 755.

“ me, and obey my Exhortations, may persuade themselves, and firmly  
 “ believe, that their Sins are forgiven them ; and that they will be ad-  
 “ mitted, cleansed from all Guilt, into Life everlasting. Hearken, there-  
 “ fore, to me, to me *Peter* the Apostle and Servant of Jesus Christ ;  
 “ and since I have preferred you to all the Nations of the Earth,  
 “ hasten, I beseech and conjure you, if you care to be cleansed from your  
 “ Sins, and to earn an eternal Reward, hasten to the Relief of my  
 “ City, of my Church, of the People committed to my Care, ready  
 “ to fall into the Hands of the wicked *Lombards*, their merciless  
 “ Enemies. It has pleased the Almighty that my Body should rest in  
 “ this City ; the Body, that has suffered for the Sake of Christ such  
 “ exquisite Torments : And can you, my most Christian Sons, stand  
 “ by unconcerned, and see it insulted by the most wicked of Nations ?  
 “ No, let it never be said, and it will, I hope, never be said, that I  
 “ the Apostle of Jesus Christ, that my Apostolic Church, the Foun-  
 “ dation of the Faith, that my Flock recommended to you by me  
 “ and my Vicar, have trusted in you, but trusted in vain ----- Our  
 “ Lady, the Virgin *Mary*, Mother of God, joins in earnestly entreat-  
 “ ing, nay, and commands you to hasten, to run, to fly, to the Re-  
 “ lief of my favourite People, reduced almost to the last Gasps, and  
 “ calling, in that Extremity, Night and Day upon her and upon me.  
 “ The Thrones and Dominions, the Principalities and the Powers,  
 “ and the whole Multitude of the Heavenly Host, entreat you, toge-  
 “ ther with us, not to delay, but to come with all possible Speed,  
 “ and rescue my chosen Flock from the Jaws of the ravening Wolves  
 “ ready to devour them. My Vicar might, in this Extremity, have  
 “ recurred, and not in vain, to other Nations ; but with me the  
 “ *French* are, and ever have been, the first, the best, the most de-  
 “ serving of all Nations ; and I would not suffer the Reward, the ex-  
 “ ceeding great Reward, that is reserved, in this and the other  
 “ World, for those, who shall deliver my People, to be earned by  
 “ any other.” In the rest of the Letter St. *Peter* is made to repeat  
 all the Pope had said in his Letters ; to court the Favour and Protection  
 of the *French* with the most abject Flattery ; to inveigh with as  
 much unchristian Resentment and Rancor, as the Pope had in-  
 veighed, against the most wicked Nation of the *Lombards* ; and to  
 entreat his most Christian Sons over and over again to come, and with  
 all possible Speed, to the Relief of his Vicar and People, lest they  
 should, in the mean time, fall into the Hands of their implacable  
 I Enemies ;

Enemies; and those, from whom they expected Relief, incur the Displeasure of the Almighty, and his; and be thereby excluded, notwithstanding all their other good Works, from the Kingdom of Heaven <sup>z</sup>.

With this Letter the Pope dispatched a Messenger, in all Haste, to Pepin *re-*  
*Pepin*; but he had, upon the Receipt of his first Letter, assembled all his Forces anew; and was, when he received this, within a Day's March of the *Alps*. He pursued his March without Delay; and, having forced the Passes of those Mountains, advanced, never once halting, till he reached *Pavia*; and laid, a second time, close Siege to that City, not doubting but he should thus oblige *Aistulphus* to raise that of *Rome* <sup>a</sup>.

In the mean time arrived at *Rome*, in their Way to *France*, two Officers of the Imperial Court, sent by the Emperor to congratulate *Pepin* on the Success of his Arms against the *Lombards* in *Italy*; and, at the same time, to thank him, in his Name, for his Friendship and Generosity, worthy of a Prince of his Character, in thus defending his Dominions most unjustly invaded in the West, while he was employed in defending the Empire against the common Enemy in the East: For *Constantine* had heard of the Expedition of *Pepin* into *Italy*, and of the great Advantages he had gained there over the *Lombards*; but, as he had given no kind of Provocation to him, or his Nation, he took it for granted, that it was out of Friendship for him, engaged in a War with the Enemies of the Christian Name, that he had undertaken that Expedition; or perhaps out of Policy, to prevent the *Lombards*, of whose Power the *French* might be jealous, from growing more powerful; and that he would not be so ungenerous and unjust as to keep the Places he had recovered from them. Indeed *Constantine* knew, that *Pepin* came into *Italy* at the Persuasion of the Pope; but thought, that as his Predecessor Pope *Gregory* II. had stirred up the *Venetians* to recover *Ravenna*, when taken by the *Lombards*, not for themselves, but for the Emperor *Leo* his Father <sup>b</sup>, in like manner *Stephen* had, as it became a good Subject, stirred up the *French* to recover the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*, not for themselves, but for him. He was, it seems, utterly unacquainted with the treasonable Intrigues of the Pope, and

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Carolin. Ep. 7. et apud Bar. ad Ann. 755. p. 231, et seq.  
Steph. II.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 244.

<sup>c</sup> Anast. in

Year of  
Christ 755.

the private Agreement between him and *Pepin*. And truly, as the Popes had all exclaimed against the *Lombards* as Thieves and Robbers for invading and seizing the Dominions that belonged to the Empire, it never once came into *Constantine's* Thoughts, that *Stephen*, who had exclaimed against them, as much as any of his Predecessors, could approve and encourage in the *French* what he had condemned as a crying Injustice in the *Lombards*. The good Emperor was not apprised of the wide Difference in the present Case, between the one Nation and the other. The *Lombards*, the most wicked of all Nations, seized on the Imperial Dominions for themselves; which was a crying Injustice indeed; a damnable Robbery; a Sin, that provoked the Vengeance of Heaven, and could be atoned for only in Hell-fire. But the *French*, the first, the best, the most religious of all Nations, seized on those Dominions; not for themselves, but for the Prince of the Apostles *St. Peter*; which was a Work of all good Works the most meritorious; a Work, that deserved to be rewarded with all the Blessings and good Things of this World, and with the Kingdom of Heaven in the World to come.

*They are allowed to enter Rome.*

The two Ambassadors were received and treated with the greatest Politeness by the King of the *Lombards*, sensible that the Interest of the Pope was no longer the same with that of the Emperor, nay, and were even suffered by him to enter *Rome*. There they were informed, by the few Friends the Emperor had still in that City, of the treasonable Practices of the Pope; of his Negotiations in *France*; and of the Promise he had extorted from *Pepin* of yielding to *St. Peter*, that is, to himself and his Successors, instead of restoring to the Emperor, the Places he should recover from the *Lombards*. The Pope, in the Audience he gave to the Ambassadors, excused his recurring to the *French* from the Necessity he was under of chusing new Protectors, being abandoned by the Emperor, not able, or not willing to protect him, against the cruel and merciless Nation of the *Lombards*. Of his Agreement with *Pepin* he took no kind of Notice to them, nor did they to him. However, as they could not well doubt of it, they resolved to leave *Rome*, when they had been but a few Days in that City, and repair, in all Haste, to the Court of *Pepin*, in order to plead there the Cause of their Master, and try to divert that Prince from seconding the ambitious Views, and wicked Designs of the Pope. This the Pope suspected; and therefore apprehending, that  
their

*They repair to France.*



## Stephen II. BISHOPS of Rome.

377

their Remonstrances might make some Impression on the King, perhaps a deeper Impression than the Letter from St. *Peter*, he strove, to the utmost of his Power, to dissuade them from pursuing their Journey. But finding he could not prevail, he took care to send one, at the same time, with the Character of his Nuncio to *Pepin* and the *French* Nation, to remonstrate against the Remonstrances of the Ambassadors; and maintain, in Opposition to them, the Cause of St. *Peter*. The Nuncio found means to get, undiscovered by the *Lombards*, on board the Vessel prepared for the Ambassadors, and they sailed together to *Marseilles*.

Year of  
Christ 755.

On their Arrival at that City they were informed, that the King had already crossed the Mountains, and entered, at the Head of his Army, the Dominions of the *Lombards*. Upon that Intelligence, one of the Ambassadors, viz. *Gregory* the Emperor's first Secretary, desirous of having an Audience of the King before the Nuncio could prepossess him against him, stole privately away, leaving the other Ambassador in *Marseilles* to amuse the Nuncio, while he pursued his Journey, with all Expedition, to the Camp. He came up with the Army at a small Distance from *Pavia*; and being immediately admitted to the King, he told him, that the Fame of his warlike Exploits, especially of the Success that had attended his Arms against the *Lombards*, the common Enemy of *France* and the Empire, having reached the most distant Parts of the East, the great and most Catholic Emperor *Constantine* had sent him to congratulate the most Christian King of the *Franks*, his Friend and Ally, upon the Glory and Reputation he had thereby acquired; and, at the same time, to acknowledge, in his Name, the great Obligations he owed him for his Generosity and Friendship in defending the Empire against the *Lombards* in the West, while he was engaged in defending both the Church and the Empire against the *Saracens* in the East, the sworn Enemies of both; that this was the Whole of the Commission he was charged with at his Departure from *Constantinople*; but that he had since heard, to his great Surprise, that it was not for the Emperor the most Christian King had made War on the *Lombards*, nor indeed for himself, but for the Pope; and that he was not to keep himself, nor yet restore to the Emperor, but to yield to the Pope, the Places he should recover from the *Lombards*; to the Pope, whom he should have

And arrived  
Marseilles;  
whence one  
of them  
hastens to the  
King's Camp.

His Speech  
to Pepin.

\* Anast. in Steph. II.

Year of  
Christ 755.

thought of all Men the least capable of accepting or encouraging others to give, what he could not accept, nor they could give, without being guilty of the greatest Injustice. For tho' the Exarchate, said he, and the *Pentapolis*, are now possessed by the *Lombards*, yet, as they were seized by them in Defiance of the Law of Nations, and by an open Violation of the most sacred Treaties subsisting at the time they seized them, between them and the Empire, they must still belong of Right to the Emperor, unless the *Lombards* be supposed to have acquired a just Title to them by a Breach of all the Laws of Justice. Of this the Popes themselves have all been sensible; this they have often inculcated to the *Lombard* Kings; and, by that means, even sometimes prevailed upon them to restore, out of a Principle of Justice, the Places, which their Ambition had tempted them to seize. From thence *Gregory* concluded, that as the Emperor had still, and he alone had, an unquestionable Right to those Provinces, they ought either to be left in the Possession of the *Lombards* till he himself was, as he hoped soon to be, in a Condition of recovering them, or be restored to him, if recovered by any other. As for the Pope, to whom he was informed they were to be yielded, he begged *Pepin* to consider, that he had already more than what was sufficient to support his Dignity; that *Constantine*, not satisfied with suffering him quietly to enjoy what was given him by others, had himself contributed, and very considerably, to the Wealth of his See<sup>d</sup>; that after all, the Pope was as much a Subject of the Emperor as any other Man in the Empire; that, as it would be Treason and Rebellion in any other Subject to usurp the Dominions of his Sovereign, so it was Treason and Rebellion in the Pope; and that it was a Precedent of a very dangerous Consequence for one Prince to encourage and countenance the Rebels of another. To this Speech *Pepin* returned no other Answer, than that it was for St. *Peter*, and not for the Emperor, he had engaged in the present War; that he took not from the Emperor the disputed Dominions, but from the *Lombards*, who had taken them from the Emperor; that he had promised, not prompted thereunto by any worldly Motive, but merely for the Good of his Soul, and the Remission of his Sins, and promised upon Oath, to yield to St. *Peter* and his Successors whatever he should recover, with the Assistance of that Apostle, from his Enemies the *Lombards*; and that nothing should ever divert him from performing that Promise. *Pepin*

*Pepin's Answer.*

<sup>d</sup> See above, p. 319.

thought,

thought, it seems, that he could by no other means better atone for his Sins, especially for his having robbed his lawful Sovereign of his Crown to place it on his own Head, and degraded him from a King into a Monk, but by robbing the Emperor of his Dominions to bestow them on the Pope; and raise him, by that means, from the Rank of a Bishop to that of a Prince.

The Ambassador offered to reply; but *Pepin*, telling him, that this was his firm Resolution, which nothing should ever make him alter, dismissed him that Moment; and, advancing to *Pavia*, laid close Siege to that City, and pursued it with such Vigour, that *Aistulphus*, apprehending the *French* might make themselves Masters of his Metropolis, before he could make himself Master of *Rome*, thought it advisable to sue a second time, before it was too late, for a Peace. He sued for it accordingly; and it was granted him upon the following Terms, which, however hard, he was obliged to comply with: I. That he should execute, and execute immediately, the Treaty concluded the Year before at *Pavia*. II. That to the Places, which he was to deliver up in virtue of that Treaty, he should add the City of *Commachio* for having put *Pepin* to the Trouble of crossing the Mountains a second time. III. That he should defray all the Charges of the present War; and, Lastly, That he should pay the annual Tribute of twelve thousand *Solidi* of Gold, which the *Lombards* had formerly paid to the *French* Nation<sup>c</sup> (N). These Terms being agreed and sworn to by *Aistulphus*, *Pepin* caused a new Instrument to be drawn up, whereby he yielded all the Places mentioned in the Treaty to be for ever held and possessed by *St. Peter*, and his lawful Successors in the See of *Rome*. This Instrument, signed by himself, by his two Sons, and by the chief Barons of the Kingdom, he delivered to the Abbot *Fulrad*, appointing him his Commissary to receive, in the Pope's Name, all the Places mentioned in it. With this Character the Abbot repaired immediately (for *Pepin* was impatient to return to *France*; but yet would not withdraw his Troops out of the Territories of the *Lombards*, till the Treaty was executed, lest his Sins should not be forgiven him), attended by the Commissaries of *Aistulphus*, to Ra-

<sup>c</sup> Anast. in Steph. II. Annal. Metens. et Fuldens. et Continuat. Fredegar. ad Ann. 756.

(N) To this Tribute *Agilulph* submitted it, by paying a large Sum at once in the Reign of *Clotaire I.* in 520; but the *Lombards* had redeemed themselves from it, by paying a large Sum at once in the Reign of *Clotaire II.*

Year of  
Christ 755.

The Pope  
made a  
Prince.

*venna*; and from thence to every City named in the Instrument of Donation; and having taken Possession of them all in St. *Peter's* Name, and the Pope's, and every-where received a sufficient Number of Hostages, he went with all his Hostages strait to *Rome*; and there, laying the Instrument of Donation, and the Keys of each City, on the Tomb of St. *Peter*, put the Pope thereby at last in Possession of the so long wished-for Principality <sup>f</sup>(O). And thus was the Bishop

<sup>f</sup> Anast. Annal. Metenf. Continuat. Fredegar. &c.

(O) The Donation of *Pepin*, which *Leo Ostiensis* confounds with that, which was afterwards made by his Son *Charles* to Pope *Adrian* (1), extended only to the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*. The Exarchate comprised, according to *Sigonius*, the following Cities; *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forlimpoli*, *Forli*, *Cesena*, *Bobbio*, *Ferrara*, *Commachio*, *Adria*, *Cervia*, and *Secchia*. The *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d'Ancona*, comprehended *Rimini*, *Pesaro*, *Conca*, *Fano*, *Sinigaglia*, *Ancona*, *Osimo*, *Umana*, *Fesi*, *Fossambrone*, *Monteferetro*, *Urbino*, *Cagli*, *Luceoli*, and *Eugubio*. As for the City and Dukedom of *Rome*, containing several Cities of Note, and *Perugia* among the rest, they had withdrawn themselves from all Subjection to the Emperor, and submitted to St. *Peter* ever since the time of Pope *Gregory II*. So that St. *Peter*, that is, the Pope, made no contemptible Figure, even as a temporal Prince. *Stephen* committed the Government of the Exarchate to the Archbishop of *Ravenna*; who thereupon assumed the Title of Exarch, not as Archbishop, but as an Officer of the Pope. As for the *Lombards*, they remained still Masters of all the Country now called *Lombardy*, of the present State of *Genoa*, of all *Tuscany*, of the City and Dukedom of *Spoleti*, and of all the present Kingdom of *Naples*, except the Cities and Dukedoms of *Naples* and *Gaeta*, and some maritime Cities of *Brutium* and *Calabria*, which continued steadfast in their Allegiance to the Emperor, tho' they looked upon him as an Heretic, on Account of his condemning the Use and the Worship of Images. The People of *Naples* were as much addicted even as the *Romans* to that

Superstition. But not thinking themselves therefore absolved from their Allegiance, nor authorized to shake off the Yoke, they continued to acknowledge *Constantine* for their lawful Sovereign at the same time that they rejected the Definition, and refused to comply with the Decrees of the late Council of *Constantinople*.

*Aistulphus*, not able to brook his having been obliged to part with those fruitful Provinces in favour of one, who had no better Right to them than himself, had begun to make vast Preparations, with a Design to recover them, and put himself, at the same time, in a Condition to withstand the *French*, who, he did not doubt, would return to *Italy*, and renew the War there. But being in the mean while overtaken by the Vengeance of Heaven, say *Anastasius* and the Annalist of *Metz* (2), he fell from his Horse at a Hunting-match (an Accident that had happened to many before his time, and has happened to many since, whose Deaths no Man will ascribe to the Vengeance of Heaven), and did not outlive that Misfortune three whole Days. He published, in the 5th Year of his Reign, a new Edict of Laws still to be seen entire in the Monastery of *Cava*, and highly commended by all the Civilians (3). In the same Monastery is preserved to this Day a Charter of his confirming the Grant of certain Lands to the Monks of *Nonantula* in the Neighbourhood of *Modena*, upon Condition they supplied his Table with forty Pikes in the Advent, and with forty more, during the forty Days Lent-Fast: So that *Aistulphus* fasted, at least, like a true Son of the Church, and a very good Catholic.

(1) *Leo Ostiensis*. l. 1. c. 8. (2) *Anast. in Steph. II. et Annal. Met. ad Ann. 756.*  
(3) *Giannoni. Historia Civil. di Napoli*, l. 5. c. 1. sect. 3.







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